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Memoir of the late War
In India. by
William Thorn

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MEMOIR

OF THE LATE

WAR IN INDIA.

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Keywords:- India-History, Moguls-Origin and Rise of Madajee Scindiah

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINC[illegible] REGENT.

SIR,

THE gracious permission to inscribe the present volume to your Royal Highness, is the more grateful to the feelings of the author, it connects him, in some degree, with the venerable commander whom he served during the campaigns here described, the happiness of enjoying the esteem and confidence Highness to the close of his valuable life.

But the distinction thus conferred is only one proofs of the interest taken by your Royal High that tends to increase the stock

field for bold adventurers; and at this period there were not wanting instruments enough to co-operate in any plan that had the expulsion of the English Company for its object. The Mahrattas were well disposed to enter into any measures for this purpose; but the great reliance of the French was upon the footing which they already possessed in the central and most fertile part of India, where they may be said to have ruled absolute over the counsels of the principal states, and in particular over the descendants of the imperial house of Timur.

Such was the perilous state of things in that part of the world, at the time when Britain was suddenly involved in a fresh contest with her old and most inveterate enemy. But formidable as the danger was, the energy of the statesman who then held the Indian government, aided by the promptitude of his illustrious brother, and the determined spirit of the commander-in-chief, operated with astonishing rapidity in dispersing the storm; and by thus freeing England from all embarrassing cares for her foreign settlements, enabled her to contend with increased activity and strength for the deliverance of Europe.

blow which was levelled at one of the vital springs of our national
with accelerated force upon the usurper, whose colossal ima-
rode the world; but who, in his aim at universal dominion,
k in the interior of India, which, by a circuitous train
otal overthrow on the fields of Waterloo.
spection furnishes lessons of practical experience for the
d the regulation of policy. The proper use of military
far as ssible, against the recurrence of war; or where
the means of shortening its duration.

to a protracted and revolutionary war; no less honours are due to the military, who, in carrying the plans of government into effect, encountered perils, and endured hardships, which have been seldom paralleled, and were never exceeded in the wars of ancient or modern Europe.

Hitherto the most incorrect notions have prevailed in this country respecting Indian warfare; in consequence of which misconceptions, the hardest battles have been undervalued, and th most splendid victories have been thrown into shade. Thus the services of our armies in that region [illegible] in the general estimation, and the exemplary conduct of individuals loses it [illegible]ward, owing to the distance of the scene, and the comparatively little intere[illegible] which it occupies in the public mind. The mass of the people are also uninformed in regard to the changes that have taken place among the warlik[illegible] of India, through the introduction of European tactics and French discipline; which, combined with their natural courage, often bordering on enthusiastic frenzy, and their numerical superiority, has rendered our conflicts with them sanguinary in the extreme.

During the last extensive war, the events of which are here related, their infantry stood till the English bayonets touched their br[illegible]sts; the artillery men with similar firmness, served their guns without reced[illegible] an inch; and w[illegible] they could no longer fire, they made use of their tollwa[illegible] till they fell [illegible] the carriage wheels of their cannon; while the caval[illegible] the sa[illegible] charged up to the very muzzles of our firelocks. Of th[illegible]erat[illegible] these people, the strongest evidences were at [illegible] Leswaree; than which, allowing for the numbe[illegible]

[illegible]ons are not to be found in the [illegible]

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CHAPTER

es in the

MEMOIR

OF

The Campaigns in Hindoostan

OF THE LATE

GENERAL LORD LAKE.

CHAPTER I.

General View of India, and its Revolutions, with their Causes.—Origin of the Moguls.—Account of the English and French [illegible] Contentions and Consequences.—Rise of Madhajee Scindiah [illegible] the Mahratta Authority.—Confederacy against [illegible] Neutrality.—Connexion of the French Revolution [illegible] of Tippoo Saib, counteracted by the Marquis [illegible] Nobleman's Administration.

WHEN the Macedonian hero carried hi[illegible] erected on its banks the trophies of his [illegible] the deities; and when in the same un[illegible] descended the Indus, and despatched [illegible] voyage of discovery, human imaginatio[illegible] the establishment of an European p[illegible] Ganges, and extending its sovereignty

ander found a limit to his ambition. Among the strange events that mark a progressive design in the changes which take place on the globe, the growth of the British empire in the east is certainly one of the most striking and abundant in matter for inquiry and speculation. The simple fact that an insulated spot in the northern seas, possessing comparatively but an insignificant po dation, and surrounded by states equally active, and enjoying mo nple means for enterprize, should have supplanted them all in founding a dominion where they d long before gained settlements, is a circumstance that would con- nd even credulity, were it not that the phenomena of the moral hose of the natural world cease to astonish in proportion as ome familiar. Nor is the peculiar construction of this s an object of admiration, than the fact of its existence mense distance from the supreme authority which gives ommerce, and restrains it from abuse by legislation. erest and mutual operation may be ascribed, in a ity of this vast territorial acquisition, and ndred millions of inhabitants, which the not of itself maintain, and which perhaps t to be suffered to possess.

ndia is cemented by a junction of distinct ent sources, and yet acting in such a way eft. This line of policy is indispensably ublic opinion is of the utmost import- rance of discordance in councils, or the nent, must inevitably bring the whole among the native tribes, who are not

more sagacious in detecting weakness, than crafty and ready in taking an advantage of it. Much has been said on the supposed injuries of Hindoostan; and rhetorical invention has never been more elaborately severe than in declaiming against the encroachments of European avarice and ambition in that country. But the zeal of philanthropy is sometimes blind, and that of party is always intemperate; whence it happens that misconception prevails over good intentions to raise a clamour, not only without any reasonable cause, but even against the evidence of truth and the interests of humanity. Of this mischief, arising from prejudice, the history of the British settlements in the east affords a lamentable instance; which is the more surprising, because the means of correct information are ample, and the beneficial changes accomplished throughout India in consequence of this connexion are universally admitted. But it seems to have been overlooked, either from ignorance or design, by those who are disposed to condemn particular measures in the abstract, instead of examining them on the general scale of policy, that this country never existed in a state of independence, at least within the compass of historical inquiry.

Previous to the expedition of Alexander the Indian provinces paid a yearly tribute in gold to the court of Persia, amounting to one-third of the revenue of that empire; besides which, these dependant states were obliged to furnish a large proportion of military force for general operations, no less than for their own defence. Had not the Grecian troops therefore been appalled by the reports of unknown danger, and dispirited by the fatigues which they suffered during the rainy season, the favourite object of their illustrious commander would

beyond all doubt, have been accomplished, and more splendid memorials of his conquest might yet have existed on the shores of the Ganges than are now remaining near the Beyah. Enough, however, was then achieved to shew the practicability of penetrating into the heart of India, after gaining the principal defences of the Punjab; and the progress of subsequent invaders by the same route has clearly proved either the absolute incapacity of the inhabitants to defend their country, or a total want of sensibility for its concerns. Could one object more than another be supposed to act as a powerful stimulant upon the most phlegmatic minds, it must be a lively resentment at the outrages committed upon their venerated sanctuaries, and the forms of devotion to which they have been accustomed; and yet, when the ferocious Mahmoud entered Hindoostan, with the avowed purpose of rooting out idolatry and propagating Islamism, he met with so little resistance as to overrun the country twelve times, marking his successive courses with new and more flagitious enormities.

The famous Timur found the conquest of India equally easy; but though his cruelties exceeded even those of Mahmoud, the remembrance of them did not hinder one of his descendants from establishing at Delhi the dynasty of the Moguls. Of this race was the great Akbar, the legislator of India, who had the fortitude to break through the trammels of his education, by incorporating into one code the purest precepts of the Koran with the institutes of Menu. But though the reign of Akbar was unquestionably the most brilliant in the annals of India, as during the long period of half a century this puissant monarch made it his study to promote the happiness of his people, without any distinction in regard to religious opinions, neither the

extent of his conquests, nor the liberality of his policy, could fix the empire of the Moguls upon a permanent basis.

This was not the fault of Akbar, but the effect of an inherent weakness in the constitutional system, which naturally tended to decay for the want of uniting the interests of one generation to another, by giving an hereditable stability to honours and property. Where glory and wealth are merely personal, the stimulants to exertion will be necessarily contracted, and the attachment of the people to their government can no longer be relied upon than while force holds the commanding influence over their fears. Surrounded by numerous chiefs, who had no principle to ensure their fidelity, and whose vassals were ever ready to follow them in any desperate enterprise for the [illegible] of plunder, the Mogul emperors declined with great rapidity, till [illegible]thority became nothing more than the shadow of royalty. Of this debility many of the viceroys took advantage by erecting their provinces into independent states, which changes becoming frequent, increased the natural apathy of the people, and made them more ready to join every new usurper than to exert themselves for the defence of the country. Such was the state of Hindoostan when it fell an easy prey to Nadir Shah, who in 1738 made himself master of Delhi, which he devoted to plunder and massacre; but these outrages, which equalled, if they did not in fact exceed, those committed by Timur, were insufficient to rouse a spirit of resistance to the invader, from whom India was only relieved at last by the vigorous activity of the Tartars, and the vengeance of the Persians. The death of Nadir, however, made no other alteration in the affairs of India than that of multiplying internal dissensions, and enlarging the power

of the Mahrattas on the one side, and that of the Seiks on the other; while Ahmed the Abdalli, who had formed a new monarchy in Candahar, crossed the Indus, gained possession of the Punjab, and after subduing without difficulty the provinces of Multan and Lahore, marched upon Delhi, which, however, he was prevented from taking by the exertions of the vizier, who fell in defending the throne of his imperial master.

This example, and the success which attended it, had so little effect upon the people, that even when the body of the emperor, who died soon after, was carried in procession round the tomb of his faithful minister, the imposing ceremony failed in rousing a spirit of patriotism. Ahmed Shah repeated his incursions; and though for a time he was opposed by the successor of the late vizier, the habitual lethargy of this infatuated nation was such that he found no difficulty in making himself master of the province of Lahore; after which the capture of Delhi followed as a matter of course. But the conqueror, having given the capital up to plunder, and formed a matrimonial connexion with the emperor, proceeded against the Jauts, who, from being petty Zemindars between Agra and Jeypore, had risen into consequence amidst the distractions of the empire, and were at this time become very formidable enemies. Soorajee Mull, the Rajah of the Jauts, displayed equal address and energy, in turning the weak state of the imperial government to the consolidation and direction of the irregular but warlike people whom he commanded. The predatory excursions of these marauders in the neighbourhood of Delhi proved sufficiently lucrative to sharpen their appetite for plunder, and to increase their numbers, which at length became so alarming as to

menace the existence of the Mogul authority in the heart of the empire, especially when connected with the inroads of the Mahrattas. Ahmed, though he succeeded in expelling these adventurers from the plains of Delhi, and driving them to their native mountains, was afterwards glad to avail himself of their assistance at the battle of Panniput, January 14, 1762, where they deserted their Mahratta allies; and their chief, Soorajee Mull, received Agra as the recompense of his treachery. This was the last great effort made on the part of the Hindoos to shake off the Mohamedan yoke; and yet even the defeat of the combined Mahratta forces, with the slaughter of their principal chiefs, gave no renovated strength to the Mogul empire, which was now reduced to the contracted limits of the Delhi district; while the Seiks held the whole of the Punjab, and the Mahrattas, with the Rajepoots, possessed themselves of the countries from thence to the Deccan.

In this state of dismemberment and decrepitude, the very deputies of the emperor renounced their obligation of allegiance, and set themselves up as sovereign princes; among whom were the vizier Sufder Jung, and his son, Sujah ud Dowlah, who divided between them the extensive province of Oude and its dependencies. Similar usurpations took place in Bengal, Bahar, and the peninsula; and thus the emperor, Shah Aulum, retained a splendid title on the most precarious of all tenures, without the means of punishing rebellion, much less of resisting the encroachments of foreign enemies.

While Hindoostan was thus rent by internal divisions, and exposed to perpetual attacks from different invaders, two rival powers of another character were contending for the ascendency on the coast.

It was not to be wondered that the English and French residents in India should entertain a mutual jealousy of each other, and on the breaking out of hostilities between their respective sovereigns, endeavour to gain over the native princes to their respective interests: but that the latter should be so infatuated as to take a part in these contentions, and suffer their country to become the seat of war, where the combatants had neither territory nor claims, would almost seem incredible, did not the fact constitute a new epoch in the history of Hindoostan. These foreign settlers, who obtained a footing on the shores of Coromandel, under the comparatively simple denomination of traders, were enabled through the confusions which prevailed in every part of the empire to assume a military appearance, and with such effect as to be courted on that very account instead of being dreaded by the native chiefs, who, blinded by their enmity to each other, could not see in their new allies the future masters of their country. Having once succeeded in gaining the confidence of the different powers in India, it was no difficult matter to strengthen their own force, and to obtain a leading influence, amounting almost to sovereignty, among these divided people. The French in particular were not tardy in taking advantage of the ample field which was here laid open for military skill and political intrigue. Men of the first-rate abilities were sent out by the government to insinuate themselves into the several courts, and to procure employment in the Indian armies, under the pretext of friendship, but in reality to supplant the English; and not only to engross the commerce of the east, but to establish such a predominance in the country as should not be shaken even by the awakened fears and mutual co-operatio

of the native states. The plans of the French were deeply laid, and for sometime they promised to be more speedily effectual than even the projectors themselves could have imagined. At length the slow policy of their rivals began to be roused into action, and talents of the most brilliant description burst forth almost spontaneously in India, to the astonishment not only of the people of that country, but of the greatest veterans in military tactics. On this arena did Lawrence and Clive gain immortal renown; and whatever may be said of Europe as the school of war, it will hardly be called in question by those who have paid a slight attention to the history of India, that this region affords the widest scope and most numerous opportunities for the application of the military science in the combined energies of genius and valour. Where peace is never secure, and where the faith of treaties can seldom be trusted, men become vigilant by necessity, and sagacious by experience. Hence the operations of war, which in the western world are almost mechanical, and governed by rule, become in the east liable to variations, against which, as no foresight can provide, they must therefore be directed by promptitude, and followed up with the vigorous resolution of mind that looks to itself for resources and responsibility. By being thus compelled as it were to unite the political and military character, to act precisely as the exigency of the moment required, and to depend upon their own judgment rather than suffer themselves to be guided by public opinion, the British commanders in the east were enabled to gain a succession of victories, which secured to their country at the peace of 1763, in addition to its old settlements on the coast of Malabar, the extensive provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the northern Circars and part of the Carnatic. Besides this accumu-

lation of territory, the East India Company derived immense advantages from an alliance with those native powers who were indebted for their sovereignty to the English arms or interest.

Whatever difference of opinion may subsist upon the means by which that preponderance was originally obtained, or with regard to the measures pursued subsequently amidst the feuds that arose between the native powers, it will hardly be contended that the English could have remained passive in a country where no establishment can maintain perfect neutrality without running the risk of expulsion or annihilation. In deviating from their strict commercial character, the East India Company acted rather from necessity than choice; and the success which crowned their efforts to maintain their settlements upon an independent footing ought not to be ascribed to a spirit of ambition, but to the restless disposition of their subtle competitors, and the convulsed state of a country, where peace and order, good faith and security, are rarely to be found. It was made a question in Europe whether a mercantile association, acting under royal charter, ought to enjoy territorial acquisitions, or be suffered to form a military establishment for their defence; but they who raised the objection, and argued upon it with ingenuity and feeling, threw into shade or completely distorted the peculiar features of the country which was the subject of their sophistry and declamation.

Before so general a question could be properly disposed of, another of primary import required to be answered, which resolved itself into a very narrow compass, and amounted to this, whether the chartered rights of the company were of such a nature as to call for national protection. Upon such a point there could be no difference of opinion.

and therefore it only remained to be considered how far the English settlements in the east could be secure without military arrangements adapted to the peculiarity of the service, and employed, as circumstances might require, amidst the conflicts of native chiefs and the intrigues of formidable rivals. On the decline of the Mogul empire, and the dismemberment which succeeded the invasion by Nadir Shah, the safety of the commercial establishments became exposed to new and increasing perils from their proximity to states fresh in the possession of independence, and wanton in the exercise of power. Had that empire continued in an integral state, and the court of Delhi been obeyed throughout all the provinces, the condition of the foreign settlers on the shores of India would neither have rendered the acquisition of extensive territory practicable, nor the consequent erection of military institutions necessary for their defence. But when the viceroy of the Deccan was constituted a sovereign prince by the conqueror, and the other dependencies of the empire were wrested from the imperial sceptre by successive usurpers, the situation of things imposed a necessity upon the Europeans to provide against contingencies in a country subject to perpetual revolutions. What has been adopted as a precautionary measure will sometimes gain prescription by its obvious utility, and frequently become indispensable by the circumstances with which it is connected, or the effects that it has produced. The changes in Hindoostan rendered military array imperative for the protection of trade, and to keep in awe a people habituated to treachery, and only to be restrained from violence by the dread of retaliation. The accession of power, however, naturally produced jealousy and envy, especially in those who from the earliest period

of the settlement of the English in India had endeavoured to supplant them by art, or to root them out by force.

The ascendency which the French had long possessed in some of the principal eastern courts was far from being lessened by the events of the seven years war, nor did the accumulation of riches and strength thereby obtained on the part of their rivals abate their confidence or activity. In the southern parts of India they still retained considerable influence, the effect of which was severely felt when Hyder Ally burst forth like an impetuous torrent, and by the rapidity of his conquests appeared as if nothing could impede his progress, or hinder him from founding a new dynasty in the empire of Hindoostan. The period chosen by this able, enterprising, and ferocious despot for the display of his extraordinary talents, and his rancorous hatred to the English, was peculiarly critical, and highly favourable not only to his immediate object of gaining the command of the peninsula, but even, if he had been so minded, of extending his dominion over the greatest part of India. The war in which England was then involved with her American colonies, and the contest with France which arose out of that event, placed our eastern possessions in the most perilous situation; and there was nothing, in all human probability, to prevent our utter expulsion from Hindoostan, when the victorious Hyder penetrated into the Carnatic, had the French government, instead of exhausting the resources of their country in supporting the insurgent provinces of North America, directed their principal attention to the east, where they enjoyed many superior advantages, but none more than in the attachment of Hyder Ally, who only wanted the co-operation of European allies

on several points to have effected a complete change in the empire of India. Even as it was, the affairs of the company wore a most gloomy aspect; and nothing but the prudent measures of Mr. Hastings, and the vigorous exertions of Sir Eyre Coote, preserved the British dominions in that quarter from absolute destruction. Amidst the enormous waste of blood and treasure attending the ineffectual attempt to reduce the Americans, the English government was too much embarrassed to provide a force at all adequate to the defence of its eastern possessions; and therefore, if any thing can exceed the astonishment that these settlements should have been saved under such circumstances, it is the admiration of the conduct of those who were entrusted with a charge, the desperate nature of which alone could have induced the French to leave the conquest of British India to the management of their ally.

It was natural enough to have supposed that what the parent state was in a manner under the necessity of abandoning to its fate would have fallen an easy prey where enemies were more numerous than friends; but this confidence of success on the part of the French constituted the most splendid testimonial to the honour of those who had the arduous charge of counteracting that power, when the ruin of the British empire in the east appeared inevitable. In addition to the security obtained by their energies, and the glory acquired by their defence of Hindoostan, an example was here given of which the English nation ought never to lose sight, since it shews the tenuity of the ties by which these remote territories are held, when a single revolution may transfer them to other hands before the sense of danger is felt, or the means of evading it can be provided. Though the direct power of the French was crushed when they had reason to calculate upon

the subversion of their adversaries, the spirit of political craft remained in full activity, of which the councils of Tippoo Saib, the son and successor of Hyder Ally, gave abundant testimony. Fortunately the government of Bengal was then in the hands of a nobleman of the highest military talents, who penetrated through the character and designs of the perfidious Sultan of Mysore: and though very much confined by the trammels of legislative prescription, and the express instructions of the supreme authority in England, Lord Cornwallis resolved to prevent the recurrence of those evils which had so nearly proved fatal to the British interests in India during the time of his predecessor. It was well that the civil and military powers were blended in the person of the governor-general, when Tippoo unmasked his ambitious designs, by entering without provocation the territory of the Rajah of Travancore, who, as the ally of Great Britain, had a natural claim to protection, which was so promptly afforded, that the aggressor had to compound for one part of his dominions by the cession of the rest. By thus defending the weak against their oppressors, and using victory with moderation, the English gained the most extensive advantages in the eastern world, which it is to be regretted could not be followed up more effectually for the general benefit of Hindoostan, owing to the restrictive impositions that governed the conduct of Lord Cornwallis. Had his lordship at that period been at entire liberty to pursue the generous impulse of his own mind, and to adopt that line of policy which the exigency of circumstances required, Madhajee Scindiah, a Mahratta chief of recent origin in regard to sovereignty, might have been attached firmly to the British interests, or prevented from attaining

that aggrandizement which enabled his successor to make that formidable stand against the English and their allies in the Deccan and Hindoostan, of which an account is detailed in the following pages.

Madhajee Scindiah was the son of Ranojee Scindiah, an officer of distinction in the Mahratta service, who, on the subjugation of the Malwah province, obtained the government of it from the rajah for himself and his descendants. Of four sons, three fell in battle, and Madhajee Scindiah, the survivor, being severely wounded at the battle of Panniput, escaped into the Deccan. After this he assumed the government of his patrimonial estate of Ougein, which he so greatly improved and extended as to obtain a leading influence among the Mahrattas, particularly at the time when those states formed their great confederacy for the expulsion of the English from India; which design they were only prevented from carrying into execution by the energetic measures of Mr Hastings, and the vigorous operations of Sir Eyre Coote. On the termination of the war, Scindiah marched against the Rajah of Gohud, which province he quickly added to his territories; and then, instigated by the distractions at Delhi, where the emperor was entirely at the disposal of his ministers, he marched towards the capital, under the pretext of settling the affairs of the empire, but in reality to co-operate with the turbulent nobility, and thereby to increase his own power and dominions. The expectations of Scindiah were completely realized, for after the assassination of Afrasiab Khan, the prime minister, which atrocious deed was generally ascribed to his management, he obtained from Shah Aulum the vacant office of Ameer al Omrah, which placed all civil and military concerns his disposal. The first act of his administration was the reduction

of Agra and Alighur, the patrimonial estate of his predecessor, and of which his family still continued in possession, till the enterprising Scindiah by his activity made himself master of the forts, with all the treasures, and thus brought under subjugation the principal part of the Dooab, with the countries lying southward of the Jumna. These successes, which would have been of the most important nature had they renovated the power of the emperor, only served to increase the authority of the minister, who took care to turn the whole to his private advantage. The avarice of Scindiah was indeed equal, or rather paramount to his ambition; and this mercenary spirit not only precipitated him from the height which he had attained at the court of Delhi, but drew upon the unfortunate sovereign the direst calamity. Not satisfied with the honours and riches which he had acquired, Scindiah presumed to lay his hands upon the estates allotted for the maintenance of the Mogul army, the revenues of which being solely entrusted to the officers gave them an absolute command over the soldiers, whose interests were identified with those of their superiors. Common policy would have dictated extreme caution in trenching upon such a community of rights, and violating property thus exclusively appropriated; but the minister, relying upon the strength of his Mahratta force, turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and advice; in consequence of which, as might naturally have been expected, secret conspiracies were formed and designs projected, that increased by new injuries, and waited only for a fit opportunity to explode with vengeance. The opportunity soon occurred in a war which Scindiah commenced against the Rajah of Jynaghur, when the imperial commander suddenly found himself deserted by the whole body of Mogul nobility, who went ove

with their entire force to the enemy on the field of battle, which, of course, terminated in the defeat of the Mahrattas and the flight of their chief. The unfortunate emperor was now completely at the mercy of his treacherous vassals; the most perfidious of whom was Munsoor Ali Khan, nazir or steward of the household, by whose means Gholaum Cadir, a Rohilla chief of unprincipled character, succeeded Scindiah in the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah. In the meantime that prince, who, after his defeat, had crossed the Chumbul, and made good his retreat to Gwalior, exerted himself to the utmost in procuring fresh levies, and that with such success as to be enabled in a few months to re-enter the Dooab, where his appearance caused great alarm among the Mogul chiefs, from whom he recovered several fortresses, which was followed by a decisive victory over Ismael Beg, and the capture of Agra. This turn of affairs, however, proved peculiarly disastrous to the captive emperor, who was not only hurled from the throne, but deprived of his sight by the infamous Rohilla chief, to whom he had entrusted the administration. When informed of this inhuman act, Scindiah ordered his troops to march without any farther delay; and Delhi again acknowledged in as its virtual master, though the ill-fated Shah Aulum was once more the nominal sovereign.

Having thus resettled the government, or rather fixed the Mahratta influence over the empire, Scindiah set himself assiduously to the strengthening of his military establishment, in which he received essential aid from the talents of M. Duboigne, a French officer, who accepted the rank of general in his service, and merited the distinctions conferred upon him by improving the organization of the army after

the European mode of discipline. Thus ably aided, the Mahratta chief soon acquired such an ascendency as enabled him not only to regain his former possessions, but to extend his power from the Punjab to the gulph of Cambay. Great encouragement was held out to foreign officers to induce them to enter into his pay, and with such success that in a short time his force in infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was extremely formidable; but while he was emerging with new splendour from the temporary cloud which appeared to have eclipsed his fortune, and was preparing to increase the stability of his power by additional conquests, his ambition was arrested by a sudden disorder which terminated his restless career. Had his life been prolonged, and his faculties continued in their vigour, there can be no doubt but that he would have proved a troublesome enemy to the English, especially as the northern parts of Hindoostan were completely under his authority, and his power was accumulating daily by immense military supplies, the management of which was entrusted to European officers, mostly French, well skilled in the art of war, and disposed for the greater part to second the views of the chief in whose employ they had engaged. The death of Scindiah was an event of importance to the British interests in India, for his conduct had already excited suspicion, and produced remonstrances on the part of Lord Cornwallis, who was compelled by a sense of duty to warn him against committing any injuries upon the possessions of the English or their allies. Shortly after this manifestation of jealousy, intelligence arrived of the commencement of hostilities between revolutionary France and England, which gave a new turn to affairs in the east, and threw a strong light upon the proceedings of Scindiah

who was decidedly in the French interest. On the reduction of Pondicherry, Lord Cornwallis returned to Europe; and while his successor laboured most earnestly to maintain terms of amicable relation with the neighbouring powers, a spirit of hostility was displayed on their part, the object of which could not be misunderstood. The aim of Madhajee Scindiah was clearly that of establishing the Mahratta authority over the whole of India; and to accomplish this vast scheme of ambition, he certainly made rapid strides before the universal conqueror put a stop to his course. But neither did the design nor the danger expire with this turbulent chief, who left his nephew Dowlut Row Scindiah to carry on the scheme which he had projected, with ample means for the completion of it, and a fair promise of success, as far as power, influence, and a concurrence of circumstances, could give any assurance. The attachment of the Nizam of the Dèccan to the British interests presented an opening to the Mahratta states for the gratification of their habitual love of plunder, and radical hatred of the English government, which placed so many restraints upon their depredations. So long as these marauders are separated from each other, little is to be apprehended from their hostility, because in their divisions the other powers find security; but whenever they become united, and make a common cause of the same object, the confederacy must prove of serious import. Scindiah was aware of this, for he had witnessed the effects of such a combination during the American war, when England was too much engaged in the west to provide adequately for the defence of her eastern concerns. Time, and the extent of our possessions, had not abated his confidence in the natural strength which lay at his command: and

there was no difficulty in persuading the different Mahratta powers that their individual glory and interests were in every respect identified with the great design which he had formed of destroying the English influence throughout India. An attack upon the Nizam was a step calculated to try the effect of the confederacy, both with regard to the inclinations of the several states and the spirit of the British government. Accordingly, the pretext for a rupture was speedily found where boundaries are badly defin and little respected, where dormant quarrels are easily revived, and old settlements act as seeds of new and sanguinary contests. When the Mahrattas resolved to insult the British government through the Nizam, they made demands of arrears of chout, a portion of revenue allowed to these freebooters for the purpose of exempting particular provinces from their incursions. In this state the Nizam naturally looked to the English for protection; and the Mahrattas were no less anxious to observe what part this government would take in the dispute. It was easy to perceive that the alleged matter in contention was nothing more than a plea to cover deeper designs, and that the extinction of the Nizam's authority was the real object of his adversaries. If any possibility of doubt could have arisen on this subject, it must have been completely dispelled when Tippoo Sultaun assembled an army as the avowed ally of the Mahrattas, while at the same time Dowlut Row Scindiah on the death of his uncle was collecting his forces from every part of Hindoostan as the head of the confederacy formed against the Nizam. The very existence of such a formidable coalition, made up of the inveterate enemies of Great Britain, was sufficiently alarming to awaken the most sluggish policy into apprehension and activity; yet, in the midst of all these

hostile preparations, it was resolved on the part of the English government to avoid all interference between the Nizam and the Mahrattas. But what was still more extraordinary, though it was known that French agents were dispersed throughout India to inspirit all the courts against England, and that the present combination was indebted for most of its elements to these instruments of revolution, even the accession of Tippoo, the most inveterate of our enemies to the confederacy, could not alter the determination on our part to maintain a neutral position, and to abandon the Nizam to his fate. There were difficulties no doubt in deciding upon the proper course to be pursued where war was the inevitable consequence of taking part with the Nizam; and yet, on the other hand, the national faith was certainly at stake when that prince called in vain for the assistance of the English against associated powers, who were no less their enemies than his own. The line of conduct proper to have been adopted in such an emergency appeared to be pointed out in the precedent set by the Marquis Cornwallis, when he resented and punished the treachery of Tippoo towards the Rajah of Travancore, and thereby raised the English character to a towering height among the native courts of India. Notwithstanding this, it was deemed imprudent to interpose, because the Nizam, though an ally, was imbecile in his means and councils, and required for his defence a greater force than could well be supplied.

While matters thus hung in suspense, the business took a sudden turn, which for a season prevented the war, by the recall of Tippoo to his own country: but if the English government thus escaped immediate trouble and disgrace, the vacillating spirit which it had recently evinced tended to lower its high reputation throughout India, and had

the effect of alienating the esteem of the prince, whose territories formed an intermediate barrier to our own possessions, but whose political existence we had unaccountably neglected to defend. War, indeed, was now avoided, but peace was far from being secured, for the confidence [illegible] cemented the confederacy was rather increased than depressed [illegible]ent occurrences; and the powers most friendly to England [illegible]ly felt alarmed for their safety when they saw that this attach- [illegible] multiplied enemies, while their weakness could not insure them [illegible]tion. Politics ought to find as little place as possible in the [illegible]ve of military operations; but since the causes of war cannot [illegible]rectly ascertained without exhibiting the relative situations in [illegible] the belligerent powers stood previous to their hostility, and as [illegible]d not be possible to render the military history of British India [illegible]ithout touching upon the peculiar character of the native [illegible] in that country, this view of the state which succeeded the [illegible]t administration of the Marquis Cornwallis could not well [illegible]een avoided, because it shews the difficulties that were afterwards [illegible]vercome, and the necessity of those measures which were pur- [illegible]r the security of our empire in the east.

Sacrifices made to preserve amity are sometimes the sources of contention, and frequently accelerate that hostility with aggravating circumstances, which they were benevolently intended to prevent. This was the case when the temporizing and timid policy of the English government encouraged the Mahrattas to renew their designs upon the Nizam, who, in consequence of our neutrality, was compelled to sign a disgraceful treaty of peace, which had the effect of completely estranging the affections of that prince from his old allies, and of

throwing him into the hands of a French faction. His late disaster he very naturally attributed to the defection of those upon whom he relied for assistance; and this induced him to take a lesson from the conduct of Scindiah, who was principally indebted for his power to the superiority of his military establishment. Two English battalions in the service of the Nizam, were now dismissed, and Monsieur Raymond, a French officer, received full powers to increase and discipline a large body of regular infantry, for the payment of which a considerable tract of territory was assigned. So much activity on the part of a court which had hitherto been distinguished for supineness gave great offence to the governor-general, by whose directions the British resident at Hydrabad remonstrated in strong terms on the partiality shewn to the French, with whom we were at war, and threatening hostilities in case the force stationed on the frontiers of the company's territories was not removed. This remonstulation, however, produced little effect upon the Nizam, who not with some reason have retorted that we had neglected to display the same energy against his enemies, though we could not but be sensible that more danger was to be apprehended from them knowing as well as aid their rancorous malignity to the British interests and long attachment to the French. The state of affairs was gloomy in the extreme, for the republican agents were uncommonly busy throughout India, where they assumed various characters to ingratiate themselves with the natives, and to foment animosity against the English.

M. Raymond availed himself with great dexterity of the advantage which our conduct gave him and his party, by improving the discipline of the troops, and strengthening his connexion with the principal

personages of the court. His battalions carried the colours of the French republic, and the cap of liberty was engraved on their buttons; besides which, he secretly endeavoured to promote desertion among the native troops in our service, and invited the French prisoners of war at Pondicherry to make their escape, holding out to them promises of great encouragement under the prince to whom he was attached. By the vigilance of Lord Hobart, governor of Madras, this last attempt was frustrated, but the former succeeded so far as to create a mutiny among the sepoys in that presidency, and two native officers, with several privates, actually joined the French party. Yet the Nizam still continued to cherish a connexion with the British government, which he was well aware possessed sufficient strength to maintain an independent footing in Hindoostan, however much it might be harassed and awakened by foreign intrigues and Indian confederacies. At this period he made an offer to dismiss the French corps from his employ, provided an adequate force was furnished on our part for the defence of his dominions; but reasonable as this proposition appears to have been in itself, and a decided proof of sincerity, it was rejected for fear of giving umbrage to the Mahrattas. Yet these states, whose good opinion was so assiduously cultivated, were avowedly inimical to the British establishments in India, and intent upon its subversion for the extension of their own empire; while Raymond, and the various French commissioners dispersed in the different courts, laboured with incessant activity in promoting this hostile spirit, and representing the immense benefits that would arise from an alliance with the great republic. In this critical situation of affairs, one of those events occurred which so frequently change the political relations in Hin

doostan, and render constant vigilance with a commanding power always necessary. This was the death of the young Paishwah, Madhoo Row, the acknowledged representative of the Mahrattas, which circumstance produced a fierce contest among the principal chiefs about the appointment of a successor. The prime minister of the deceased Paishwah was desirous of placing an infant of the family upon the vacant musnud, while Dowlut Row Scindiah, whose object was to gain the entire ascendency over the Mahratta empire, defended the legitimate rights of Badjerow, the first cousin of that prince. In this domestic strife Nanah Furnavese, who on the death of his master continued to hold the government of Poonah, made overtures for a treaty with the Nizam, which was concluded to the advantage of the latter by the restoration of all that had been wrested from him at the close of the late war. This alliance, however, proved ineffectual as far as related to the settlement of the throne in which Badjerow was seated, and thus Scindiah had in fact the possession of Poonah, and the entire command of the Mahratta empire. One of his first acts was to throw the aged and experienced Nanah Furnavese into prison, from whence he obtained his release only by the payment of a considerable sum of money, and an implicit acknowledgment of all the measures which his oppressor had adopted.

The usurpations of Dowlut Row Scindiah now proceeded so rapidly as to render him a much more formidable enemy than his uncle had ever been amidst his daring projects, or perhaps even Tippoo-in the height of his ambitious career. The military establishment formed by Madhajee Scindiah, and disciplined by General Duboigne, was now placed under the command of General Perron, and every exertion was

made to improve and extend that force. European officers, chiefly French, of ability and activity, were courted by the most tempting offers of rank and remuneration, while the attachment of the natives was secured by punctual payment and liberal allowances in case of their being wounded, or otherwise rendered incapable of service. Every thing in short was conducted on a scale calculated to give this military power a despotic influence over all the other states in India; and as the fullest confidence was placed in the French commander, he did not fail to perform his part in aiding the views of the chief whom he served, with the hope thereby of effectually undermining, at some future period, the British authority throughout India. So ample, and indeed unbounded, was the trust confided to Perron, and so artfully did he manage the advantage which he possessed, that in a short time the force under his orders might almost be said to have rendered him absolute in authority both at Poonah and over the territories of Scindiah. The perilous situation of our settlements in the east at this time was heightened by the movements of Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul, who made an irruption into Lahore without opposition, and, as it was thought, with the design of restoring the house of Timur to its original splendour over the empire of Hindoostan. The march and success of this prince as far as he proceeded inspirited the Mohammedans with hopes that their power would be revived in the amplitude of its former glory; while on the other hand the French party derived from the same source no less confidence of being able to effect the great object which constituted their sole aim, of establishing themselves upon the ruins of the English government. Though the Affghan monarch was compelled to return home in consequence of some

disturbances which had broken out in his absence, this temporary relief did not add to the security of the British interests; when the practicability of an invasion on that side was so completely demonstrated. It appeared, indeed, probable, that the incursion of Zemaun Shah was merely intended to try the strength of the defences of Hindoostan, and to ascertain the state of the country, with a view to ulterior operations of greater magnitude. It was, however, evident, that had he advanced Delhi must have fallen; for though the Mahrattas were in force, they could neither have impeded the progress of such an enemy, nor were they able to harass him in his retreat; while the Seiks, who alone possessed the means of opposing resistance to the invaders on the frontiers, were too much divided among themselves to prevent the Affghans from penetrating into the heart of the empire. To the Affghans themselves such an enterprise could not but be highly gratifying, as it exactly suited their adventurous spirit; and for their encouragement, they were certain of being welcomed with ardour by the Rohillas and other tribes, from an habitual love of plunder, and that turbulent disposition which is incessantly seeking for revolutionary combustions. In the event of such an invasion, the French would have been equally dangerous whether they joined the Affghans, which probably would have been the case, or contributed effectually to the expulsion of those invaders, and the subjugation of their confederates. By doing the former they would have opened the way to their enterprising countrymen, and the latter course would have given them such a decided superiority as must ultimately have proved extremely prejudicial, if not finally destructive to the British interests in India.

Thus stood our important empire in the eastern world, when the western was convulsed with military operations of a gigantic nature; and revolutions, the most extraordinary ever exhibited on the theatre of human action, were either accomplishing or in preparation. From a variety of causes into which it would be foreign to enter, the arms of the French republic struck all Europe with consternation, and the fame of this sanguinary power was spread to the remotest corners of the earth. India could not fail to be agitated by the rumour of the wonders achieved and the changes performing by a people whose intriguing spirit had long been felt in that part of the world, and whose influence still continued to prevail in many of its courts with considerable force. It was natural, therefore, that Tippoo Sultaun, whose power had suffered so great an eclipse by his contention with the English, should hail the reports of these exploits with eagerness, and endeavour to take advantage of them for the renovation of his political consequence. He had never ceased to improve the means which he possessed for this object: and now his activity was redoubled in forming intrigues with the French, who had a jacobin club at his capital, and dispersed agents over all parts of Hindoostan, under the various descriptions of fuquirs, merchants, and military officers.

The person and the capital of the Nizam were under the controul of Monsieur Raymond, a man of extensive knowledge and equal activity, who had under his command an army of fourteen thousand men, with a large train of artillery. The territory of the Moguls, comprehending the imperial city of Delhi and the fortress of Agra, were occupied by General Perron, who had besides at his disposal the finest province of the Dooab, where he had constructed military posts of uncommo

strength, particularly at Alighur, and established cantonments for twenty thousand men. Such was the hold which the French possessed in India at the beginning of the year 1798, when the republican arms, having subjugated Italy, were about to gather fresh conquests in Egypt, with the view of penetrating into western India by the Red Sea.

That this was the real object of the great expedition which embarked at Toulon under Buonaparte in the spring of that year could not admit of a doubt in the mind of any man who had ever examined with precision the politics of France, which seldom varied much under any administration or form of government, but which in this revolutionary period were more than ever devoted to the aggrandizement of the great nation, and the establishment of universal empire. Long before the subversion of the monarchy, the idea of extending the dominion of France to India had occupied the attention of the court; and various plans were proposed on the subject. Among other projects which came under the discussion of the cabinet of Versailles, one was an alliance with the Empress Catherine of Russia, having for its object the invasion of Hindoostan along the shores of the Caspian, through eastern Persia, and the country of the Affghans. Another scheme, of a more political description, and which from its practicability, as well as conformity to the French character, met with encouragement, was that of sending men of talent to India as adventurers, seeking their fortune in the service of the native princes, and adapting themselves with the greatest readiness to the peculiar habits and prejudices of their employers, the gaining of whose confidence it was naturally supposed would produce effects not more advantageous to

the intersets of France, than destructive of the commercial consequence of England. This plan was partly carried into execution under the old government, but it was reserved for the new order of things to take up the concern on an immense scale, proportioned to the inordinate magnitude of republican ambition. It had long been a maxim in French policy that the superiority of England could only be effectually reduced by the capture of her eastern possessions; and this principle appears to have been warranted by historical fact, since the commercial ascendency of this country and the decline of Holland may be traced with precision to the state of their Indian connexions. The progress of British power in Hindoostan under the vigorous administration of Marquis Cornwallis could not but sensibly mortify those who were envious of our greatness; and therefore, when the fierce democracy of France had succeeded in triumphing over the continent of Europe, it was to be expected that the ruin of England would be aimed at on the banks of the Ganges. This was the primary motive of the invasion of Egypt by a commander who affected to set Alexander before him as his model, and who at this remarkable period of his eventful life gave indications of his possessing much of the energy and good fortune of his prototype. The conquest of Italy having been effected and other powers being compelled to subscribe humiliating terms of peace, a new field was to be sought for men whose trade was rapine, and whose deity was military glory. At home the French soldiery were likely to prove dangerous for the want of employment, and when the countries which had been devastated by them could be plundered no more. Under these circumstances, and considering the predominant influence which the French possessed in some parts of India, no season could

be more favourable for such an undertaking as that now projected, nor on all accounts could any point have been better selected for the meditated attempt than Egypt, the occupancy of which, together with the command of Malta, would have rendered the conquest of our Asiatic territories easy, by enabling the enemy to receive reinforcements continually by the same route, while supplies from England must have been retarded in consequence of a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. The expectations of Tippoo Saib at this juncture were elevated to a degree of confident assurance that the day of vengeance upon the English was at hand; and the letter written to him by Buonaparte from Cairo was of itself a decisive proof that the best understanding subsisted between the French revolutionary government and the principal native powers in India. In that letter the Sultaun was informed that his good friends were arrived on the borders of the Red Sea, full of the desire to release and relieve him from the iron yoke of England; at the same time requesting an intelligent agent to be sent to Egypt for the purpose of holding a conference. But Tippoo did not want for any instigation of this kind, as he had some months before so far developed his designs as to send a formal embassy to the Isle of France, in order to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the republic, and to procure volunteers for his army. Fortunately Lord Nelson, by the victory of Aboukir, crippled the means of Buonaparte; and Lord Wellesley, who had recently assumed the government of British India, penetrated into the views of the intriguing Sultaun before he could carry them into effect.

The coincidence of these movements in Africa and Asia, and the natural connexion which they had with each other, evinced clearly

a vast and premeditated plan for the establishment of the French power in Hindoostan on the ruins of the British empire in that quarter. Nothing, indeed, short of that persuasion which arises from the frequent contemplation of a favourite scheme, and the encouragement received in the prosecution of it from powerful auxiliaries, could have induced Tippoo to run so early the hazard of a discovery; and yet when it is considered what strong grounds he had to look for a general insurrection in his favour, particularly in the north of Hindoostan and the Deccan, where the French were in prodigious force, he certainly had sufficient inducements to think that much depended upon his promptitude. The conduct of this restless chief has, however, been characterized as rash and premature, which it no doubt was in some respects; but they who condemned him for his precipitancy were not acquainted with the extent of his correspondence and the variety of his resources. The low condition of our military establishment on the coast of Coromandel at this crisis offered a temptation hardly to be resisted by one who received promises of ample supplies from France, and who had besides abundant room to depend upon the most active exertions being made by those powers who were in the French interest. At the court of Scindiah General Perron possessed almost unlimited sway, the whole of the country from the Sutlej to the borders of the province of Oude being occupied by an army of nearly forty thousand infantry, with an immense train of artillery, commanded by about three hundred European officers, of whom not more than forty were British, and those chiefly of subordinate rank, who were continually the objects of republican persecution. At the court of the Nizam the French had an army of fourteen thousand

disciplined troops with a corresponding train of artillery, under the command of Monsieur Raymond.

In addition to these local advantages, of which the Sultaun knew how to profit by his agents, no small effect was likely to be produced by exaggerated reports of the successes of the French in Egypt, the novelty of which scene of action, and its proximity to India, could not but excite considerable emotion among the friends and the enemies of the English. All these circumstances considered, the conduct of Tippoo was far from deserving the charge of temerity, though it savoured much of deadly malignity and unprincipled treachery. This wily enemy must have been, in fact, not only well acquainted with the nature of the strength upon which he could place confidence, but with the actual situation of the British settlements, which, owing to the neutralizing system that had been for some time adhered to, was certainly far from being such as could dispel the fears of friends, or abate the presumption of foes. In treating, therefore, the proceedings of Tippoo at this period as indicative of madness, or the want of common discretion, justice has neither been rendered to his enterprising spirit on the one hand, nor to the determined measures by which he was counteracted on the other. The violence of this turbulent being must be admitted to the fullest extent; but it was the effect of policy, acting upon elements so well understood, and skilfully directed, as to command admiration rather than contempt.

Had not Tippoo been opposed by a statesman of superior sagacity and energy, the interests of British India would in a short space have been in the most perilous condition. The Sultaun of Mysore was the

main spring of a complicated system, which only wanted to be put in motion to produce the most tremendous effects; and, therefore, the obvious method of preventing the evil was that of abridging his resources, embarrassing his schemes, and promptly resenting any aggression that he should be induced to commit. Such was the comprehensive plan which presented itself to the enlarged mind of Lord Wellesley, who immediately began to put it in execution. One of his first objects was to restore the triple alliance originally settled by Lord Cornwallis between the English government and the courts of Poonah and Hydrabad, which had been dissolved through an incisive policy, or the timorous desire of preserving the appearance of moderation. But there was great difficulty in recalling the confidence of powers naturally quick of resentment, and prone to suspicion; for however sensible the native princes whose friendship we might must have been of the importance of British protection, recent experience was far from tending to assure them of its stability. Yet, as the safety of our Indian possessions rendered the revival of the political balance which the neutral system had destroyed essentially necessary in the existing posture of affairs, and for the prevention of threatening evils: the governor-general directed his efforts to this object with determined perseverance, but without betraying the smallest symptom of apprehension and anxiety, as though he considered the measure chiefly with a view to our individual security. In endeavouring to draw off the leading states from their French connexions, and thus weakening the projects of the Sultaun, it was judiciously represented that the advantages were decidedly in favour of the courts to whom Britain proffered her assistance. The wisdom

of this policy was manifest, for it removed the impression that the overtures resulted from apprehension of danger on our part, and gave to the tender of our alliance the appearance of magnanimity. Still it was no easy matter to dispel the mist of prejudice, to allay the fears of jealousy, and to rouse the timid into activity, especially when it called for sacrifices which were liable to be interpreted as degradation by the weak or designing. In this light the overture of the British government was certainly considered by the Nizam, who felt himself injured by the offer of protection from a power which had formerly abandoned him to his enemies, and now aimed, as he thought, to destroy his independence. The feeling of the prince was natural, but the sentiments of his minister, Azeem ul Omrah, were more enlarged. This enlightened statesman saw that the ascendency of the French interest, the success of Tippoo, and the aggrandisement of the Mahrattas, must eventually prove ruinous to his master, whose territories in that case would be divided without the smallest regard to justice, even though he had assisted the confederacy to the utmost of his means. He was thoroughly persuaded that the British government alone could support the tottering authority of the Nizam, surrounded as he was by pretended friends and allies, who only waited for an opportunity to partition his dominions, and annihilate his title. The faithful minister combatted the prejudices and arguments of his master, by observing that the assistance which he rendered to the powers who now enjoyed his confidence would eventually be turned to his ruin; while an alliance with the English, though it might possibly in some degree abridge his consequence, would in all probability secure his sovereignty and the integrity of his estates. This reasoning and its effect; and

on the 1st of September, 1798, a treaty was signed, in which it was stipulated that the French should be dismissed from the service of the Nizam, and that six battalions of British troops instead of two should be retained in his service. The importance of this treaty may be inferred from the difficulty attending the execution of that article, which related to the disbanding of the French corps, and the delivery of the officers up to the British government. Monsieur Raymond, by whom that force had originally been raised and commanded, was now dead; and his successor, General Piron, neither possessed the ability of his predecessor, nor the confidence of the troops. Still the army had been so completely brought under the direction of the European officers, that it was apprehended any attempt to separate them would be immediately followed by scenes of revolutionary outrage. The Nizam was greatly alarmed at the prospect, and made many excuses to delay the fulfilment of an agreement which he now saw and acknowledged by his fears to be essential to his interests. Even the minister trembled at the danger, and hesitated about the performance of an article which he had himself most anxiously recommended. Nothing, in short, could afford a more decisive evidence of the reduced state of the Nizam, and of the dominant power of the French party, than this hesitancy in the discharge of an imperative duty. When, therefore, it was found that the sovereign had not sufficient firmness to follow the dictates of self-preservation, it became necessary that the English government should be peremptory in its demands for the punctual execution of the treaty of Hydrabad. Accordingly, the British forces were marched in a direction to enforce submission upon the troops of the Nizam; but neither this imposing appearance, nor the procla-

nation of the government, could induce obedience to the article which provided for the dismissal of the French officers. A mutiny ensued, which was only prevented from producing the most calamitous scenes by the promptitude of the British troops and the native cavalry, who surrounded the cantonments, disarmed the malcontents, and took possession of the artillery with all the military stores, without the loss of a man. Thus by one vigorous and seasonable stroke of policy the British government was relieved from the presence of a formidable force, ready, and even eager to co-operate with the Sultaun in his vengeful and ambitious designs. Though the negotiations at the Court of Poonah were less successful, owing to the predominati power of Scindiah, yet the report of what had taken place at Hydrabad could not but operate in some degree upon the mind of the Paishwah, and the resolutions of the Mahratta councils On all side the opportunity was favourable for an immediate attack upon Tippoo Saib, whose negotiations with the French, and incessant efforts to excite disturbances in India for the purpose of accomplishing the destruction of the English, reduced the latter to the dilemma of eitheranihilating his power, or of exposing their own existence in Hindoostan to imminent hazard. When, therefore, it was no longer possible to maintai any terms with such a turbulent and treacherous despot, who, in his reliance upon French assistance, rejected all offers for an amicable adjustment of differences, the governor-general was necessitated to commence hostile operations against him early in 1799, though n without giving a pledge of the pacific intentions of the English, by holding out an opening for negotiation, even when General Harris, at the head of the British army and that of the Nizam, had entered

Mysore. The desperate obstinacy of Tippoo in rushing upon his fate, when by dismissing the French from his service he might have remained in the undisturbed possession of the sovereignty of Mysore, can only be accounted for by the fulness of his trust in foreign aid, and in the support which he had reason to expect from the neighbouring states. But the celerity of the movements which frustrated his views, and within the short space of two months put an end to his empire and his life, ought not to be considered as a proof that his plans were visionary, or his means contemptible. From the time of his defeat by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, Tippoo continued to harbour the most ferocious hatred against the English, whose extermination from India occupied all his thoughts; and however preposterous the idea might appear to those who contemplated with admiration the extent of our territories in that quarter, the Sultaun was too well acquainted with the history of the country and the character of its inhabitants, not to know how easy it always is to kindle the flames of war, where the materials of discord and the instruments of mischief abound almost in every direction. The French revolution was a most opportune event for the tyrant of Mysore, who entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the new republic, upon whose exertions he had every reason to depend for the furtherance of his gigantic schemes in Hindoostan. To facilitate his objects he also entered into negotiations with the Affghans, the different native princes, and all the chiefs that could bring the smallest force into the field. No revolutionary project, in fact, could be laid deeper, or be arranged with more address and ingenuity, for while strong alliances were formed with distant powers, both able and desirous to assist in the expulsion of the English from India,

the elements of internal combustion were amply provided, and so distributed as to give almost an assurance of success to the formidable designs of the Sultaun.

The master-stroke of policy which reunited the Nizam to the interest of the British government hastened the conflict with Tippoo before his main resources could arrive; but this only evinced the superiority of intellectual energy with which he had to contend, and not the imbecility of his talents, or the temerity of his undertaking. The skill and promptitude requisite to turn the schemes of the destroyer against himself may be estimated from the strength of the French influence in the heart of India, and the situation of Buonaparte, at the head of forty thousand of his choicest troops, in Egypt, impatiently waiting for an opportunity to make war upon England on the plains of Hindoostan. At this critical exigency, when the existence of our empire in the east hung in suspense, as it were, upon the turn of a single resolution, the power of mind was felt in the dismemberment of a despotic usurpation, which for about the space of forty years had been the great annoyance of the neighbouring states, and the constant enemy of England. The partition of the territories of Tippoo, the restoration of the Rajah of Mysore to the throne of his ancestors, and the annexation of the port of Mangalore to the British dominions, with the entire possession of the fortress and island of Seringapatam, dispelled all apprehensions of immediate danger, and added considerably to the riches and security of the company.

But conquest in the east, however much it may be distinguished by moderation and generosity, has rarely the effect of lessening the

number of enemies; though the force of terror may for a time compel them to abstain from acts of outrage.

The brilliancy of our operations during this short but decisive war increased the jealousy of the Mahrattas who having secretly encouraged Tippoo Sultaun and his officers with assurances of support till the fall of Seringapatam, afterwards endeavoured to prolong the contest by instigating an opposition to the settlement of Mysore. In regulating that settlement it was deemed adviseable to make such a division as should add to the security of the English possessions, and give satisfaction at the same time to the native powers who were most friendly to our interests, or who might be otherwise jealous of our preponderance. For this reason certain districts were assigned to the Nizam, and a considerable share of territory was reserved for the Paishwah, conditionally, upon the adjustment of certain differences between his court and that of Hydrabad. Though this stipulation tended to enlarge the power of that prince, the real object of it was to release him from the controul of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and to renew the triple alliance, which was no less necessary to the independence of the courts of Poonah and Hydrabad, than to the security of the British government. Scindiah penetrated into this design, and being fearful that the revival of the alliance would be subversive of his domination, prevailed upon the Paishwah to reject the proffered cession, which, therefore, according to previous agreement, was divided between the Nizam and the company. The overtures, also, that were made to Scindiah himself for the settlement of an amicable relation, were spurned with contempt, or evaded with duplicity. This conduct

might have been easily accounted for during the existence and warlike preparations of Tippoo Saib; but when the death of that turbulent chieftain, and the consequent termination of the dynasty of Hyder in Mysore, left the English without any open enemy in the field, the pertinacity of Scindiah appears difficult of solution on any other ground than that of his implicit reliance on the power of the French to uphold him in the design of uniting the Mahrattas under his entire authority. That such a project was far from being chimerical, the history of Indian revolutions will sufficiently evince; and of its consequences, should it ever be carried into execution, the British government has always been apprehensive, by the solicitude manifested to prevent the sovereignty from being engrossed by any branch of the Mahratta empire. If, therefore, it was ever necessary to guard against foreign intrigues, and to settle a balance of power for the security of Hindoostan from the tremendous effects of such a combination, it was at this period, when the state of Europe and India offered the most favourable prospects for the accomplishment of the secret aim of France, and the gratification of Scindiah's ambition.

The extinction of the tyrannical usurpation in Mysore, which for so long a space had disturbed the general tranquillity of India, made no other alteration in the views of the French party than that of directing them to new sources of convulsion in a country prolific beyond parallel in the seeds of contention. In Scindiah the French possessed a friend whose disposition and circumstances comported exactly with their wishes; whose restless mind and thirst for power rendered him no way scrupulous in the choice of means, the uses to which they might be applied, or the consequences resulting from his

actions; who hated the English because he dreaded their justice, and who admired the French because their character assimilated to his own. That this Mahratta chieftain should have indulged the hope of succeeding where Tippoo had failed, may appear extraordinary and unaccountable; but in reality the actual resources of Scindiah were much greater than those of the Sultaun, and he could with more certainty place dependence on the exertions of the French, who were properly in his service, though their commander had artfully enough contrived to assume an air of independence by giving to his force the title of the imperial army.

The depth of this policy could not at that time perhaps be easily detected, though it must have been sufficiently evident that there was some design in a measure which affected to give a degree of splendour to the authority of the degraded emperor. Yet the conduct of Perron was so perfectly in unison with that of his countrymen in their revolutionary treatment of the states which they subjugated in Europe, as clearly to indicate the fulfilment of instructions from France, where some plan was in preparation for the organization of such a government in Hindoostan as should in effect be subservient to the invincible republic. Nothing could seem better adapted to secure this object of aggrandizement than the nominal restoration of Shah Aulum to the pristine dignity of his family; and that this design was actually contemplated when Perron held in his possession the aged emperor and his capital, is put beyond all doubt by a remarkable memorial which the sudden change of affairs alone prevented from being acted upon and proclaimed as the generous interposition of the great nation in behalf of India. In this curious document, the

authenticity of which is unquestionable, the affectation of magnanimity forms a flimsy covering to disguise the designs of ambition, and the purposes of revenge.

To represent the French republic as the only power that could restore the independence of the empire, and revive its ancient glory, was not sufficient without loading England with reproaches as being the source of all the calamities that had befallen India, and as the immediate author of the wrongs of the emperor. Such a mass of falsehood, flattery, and malignity, would only merit contempt, were it not to be considered as an explanatory evidence of the extensive designs which were then formed for the revolutionizing of India under the auspices of France. After noticing the depressed state of the emperor, and observing "that the English company derived its own constitutional power from his infinite goodness," the veracious memorial proceeds thus to develope the benevolent plan of the French liberators: "It is evident that Shah Aulum ought to be the undisputed sovereign of the Mogul empire, as the great grandson of Aurungzebe, the tenth successor in a line from Tamerlane. This great question, with respect to the sovereignty of the empire being decided, it remains to consider whether it is not possible that the branches of this unfortunate family may find, at some time, protectors who shall assert their sacred rights, and break their ignominious chains. It will be then that a mutual alliance and a judicious union of powers shall secure the permanent sovereignty of the emperor, to render his immediate subjects, as well as tributaries, happy in the enjoyment of personal security, and of that wealth which springs from peace, agriculture, and a free trade. The English company, by its ignominious treatment of the great Mogul,

has forfeited its rights as Dewan and treasurer of the empire. The Nawaubs of Oude and Bengal are equally criminal, because they have acted as traitors towards their lawful sovereign: thus the Emperor of Delhi has a real and indisputable right to transmit to whomsoever he may please to select, the sovereignty of his dominions, as well as the arrears due to him from the English. These arrears of the tribute of twenty-six lacks of rupees, promised by the company, with the interest of the country added, will amount, at this present time, to four hundred and fifty-two millions of livres tournois; a sum which greatly exceeds the value of the company's moveable capital."

However extravagant this declaration may appear, the project of establishing the French dominion in a pretended revival of the Mogul empire was far from being preposterous or impracticable, considering the immense resources which the republic would have had at its disposal on the event of peace with the European powers. The military means of France were fully commensurate to such an undertaking: and in India the force of Perron formed a nucleus of revolutionary materials, attracting all the turbulent spirits in the country who were ambitious for commotions, and foreign adventurers who were desirous of employment. The failure of the expedition to Egypt, and the annihilation of the dominion of Tippoo, did not abate the confidence of Buonaparte in the design which he had meditated of destroying our commercial relations in the eastern world, the better to ensure the stability of his power in Europe. At every step of successful ambition, his thoughts became more occupied with this favourite scheme, which, after the battle of Austerlitz, acquired such an ascendency in his imagination, that his partizans could not flatter him more

han by representing that event as the harbinger of his conquest of India. Even at a subsequent period, so fully had this idea taken possession of his mind, that when he entered Moscow, he observed to one of his imperial guard, who appeared much fatigued, "Courage, my friend, this is but half-way to our journey's end."

If then such was the ruling object to which this perturbed spirit directed his aim, after gaining a diadem, and encountering so many difficulties, how much stronger must its influence have been when the attainment appeared comparatively easy by the establishment of a French military power in the heart of India, commanding the most fertile districts, and possessing a princely revenue to the yearly amount of near two millions sterling! Yet this was the actual position of the French party headed by General Perron, when the British government was compelled to use its utmost efforts for the security of its interests by forming an amicable relation with Persia, and endeavouring to establish such a connexion with the Paishwah as should give efficiency to his authority, without injury to the feudatory rights of the different Mahratta states. That these endeavours were so long unavailing, could only be ascribed to the ascendency of Scindiah, and the intrigues of the French, both of whom were extremely jealous of an intimate union between the Court of Poonah and the English company, from the obvious conviction that such an occurrence would have had the effect of abridging their power, and destroying their prospects. This, however, only served to enforce the necessity of the measure, by shewing the danger to which our possessions were continually exposed from the machinations of foreign agents among the

Mahrattas, and the ready disposition of those people to enter into any combination that would give them the assurance of plunder, and open to their view new scenes for the exercise of an habitual love of war and rapine.

It would, in fact, have been difficult to find more apt instruments to answer the ambitious purposes of the ruler of France than the Mahratta states, whose local advantages, treacherous disposition, and peculiar constitution, exactly fitted them for such an alliance, while their predatory character as naturally rendered them the enemies of the English government. The extent of territory occupied by them in the peninsula, stretching from sea to sea, and from the coast of Malabar to the Jumna, could not but give great importance to their connexions, especially at a time when the French were strongly posted in the best part of the Dooab, and held the command of Delhi and Agra. Nor was the feudatory composition of this immense military republic less favourable to the views of France than its geographical situation, since the temporary dissensions occasioned by the conflicting interests of the different chiefs must have contributed materially to strengthen the foreign influence, which all respected and courted for their particular purposes. Even the faithless character of the Mahrattas, which under any circumstances must always render an association with them unstable, and an implicit reliance upon their engagements imprudent would have been rather to the advantage of their French allies than otherwise; for where a common concern existed to unite their enmity and to stimulate their efforts, little doubt could have been entertained of the firmness of a compact which had for its object the spoliation

of the English territories, after which, contentions among the feudatory states would have increased the power upon whom they all depended.

Of this extraordinary nation it will be requisite here to give some account, as illustrative of the transactions detailed in the subsequent narrative, and of the general history of British India.

The Mahratta empire, which forms a confederation of numerous states independent of each other, though leagued in a system correspondent to that which for so many ages prevailed in Europe, was founded about the middle of the seventeenth century, by a Zemindar named Sevajee, who affected to derive his origin from the ancient sovereigns of Deccan; and availing himself of the disturbances which distracted the kingdom of Bejapour, revolted and became independent. Sevajee, by his skilful operations and daring exploits, not only baffled all the attempts of Aurungzebe to reduce his power, but actually succeeded in enlarging his dominions, which at his death, in 1680, extended from the neighbourhood of Surat, along the sea coast to the vicinity of the Portuguese settlement of Goa, and within land as far as the range of hills forming the eastern boundary of the Kokan. Sambajee, his son and successor, though weak and dissolute, established his sovereignty till 1689, when he was barbarously murdered by the orders of Aurungzebe. Sahojee, the third rajah of the family, enjoyed a long and prosperous reign, and under him the Mahrattas descended from the mountains into the plains of Hindoostan, where by a series of victories, they gave a blow to the foundation of the Mogul empire, from which it never afterwards recovered.

But brilliant as the early part of this reign was, it declined rapidly

till the authority of Sevajee's family became almost extinct by the erection of the famous office of Paishwah, or superintendent of the affairs of the empire, which engrossed every department of the state, and by being made hereditary, destroyed the power of the royal family. Sahojee died in 1740, after a reign of fifty years, during which period the Mahrattas, after having plundered almost every part of Hindoostan, with the exception of Bengal, extended their territories from the western sea to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of near one thousand miles in length, by seven hundred in breadth, and including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the peninsula of India.

At this time the capital of the empire was Sattarah, a fortress situate about fifty miles south-east of Poonah, and near the eighteenth degree of north latitude, from whence the descendants of Sevajee assumed the title of Rajahs of Sattarah.

In the reign of Ram Rajah, the cousin and successor of Sahojee, the Paishwah Badjerow usurped the entire power of his master; while Ragojee Bhooslah, the Bukshi, or commander-in-chief of the forces, in which military capacity he held the Province of Berar, established here a separate dominion with the title of Rajah. This partition of the empire by the principal ministers held out inducements to the great Jagheerdars, or hereditary landholders, to set themselves up as independent chieftains on their respective territories, where they exercised a sovereign authority. Thus the Mahratta state in a short space degenerated from an absolute monarchy to a mere federal union of chiefs, the principal of whom were the Paishwah, the Rajah of Berar, and the families of Scindiah, Holkar, and the Guickwar, whi-

the nominal sovereign of Sattarah, confined to the fortress of that name, without having the privilege of being a party to any public acts, became a shadow of royalty, and was merely permitted to exercise functions which only served to render him contemptible, such as that of investing the Paishwah with the insignia of office, and giving him audience of leave on his taking the field, though without having the power of refusal in either instance.

The court of Poonah thus became the seat of government, and a succession of Paishwahs continued to direct the affairs of the empire for several years, but with a gradual declension of power in consequence of the defection of many of the tributaries, who, relying upon their strength and resources, withheld all contributions, and obeyed no other command than that which by calling the chiefs into action gave them the prospect of plunder and aggrandizement. It is true the several Jagheerdars and chieftains still continued to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Paishwah as the organ of executive authority, and the centre of union to the Mahratta states; and in like manner was the supremacy of the Rajah of Sattarah recognized by them; but as the rights of the latter were absorbed in the paramount will of his representative, so the Paishwah himself at last became a mere instrument in the hands of Scindiah, who was thus in a manner absolute master of the empire. The necessity of reducing this formidable power, combined as it was with the imminent danger of French influence, could not admit of a question; but the difficulty of accomplishing such a desirable object, without a direct attack upon the principal of the Mahrattas, appeared almost insuperable. From this dilemma the British government was relieved by one of those family

feuds with which the history of India so remarkably abounds. Strong as the power of Scindiah was, in his hereditary estates and acquired dominion, in the armies which he had raised, and the allies which he had secured, a native chief was found adventurous enough to invade his territorial domain, and to attack him in his capacity as prime minister of the Paishwah. This was Jeswunt Row Holkar, of whom and his family it will be expedient to give here some particulars, on account of the conspicuous part which this adventurer performed in the scenes that occasioned the restoration of the dormant authority of the Paishwah as the head of the Mahratta government.

Mulhar Row Holkar, one of the most enterprising officers in the service of the first Paishwah, obtained as the reward of his fidelity a portion of the province of Malwa. He died in 1766, at Mulhar Ghur, a fortress in one of his Jaghires, about forty miles from Calpee; and was succeeded by his nephew, Tuckojee Holkar, who died in 1797, leaving two legitimate sons, Cashy Row and Mulhar Row; besides two illegitimate ones, Eithojee Holkar and Jeswunt Row. A little before his death, Tuckojee caused his eldest son, Cashy Row, to be acknowledged at the court of the Paishwah as the heir of the territorial possessions, at the same time settling a Jaghire, to the yearly value of ten lacks of rupees, upon his next son, Mulhar Row, but making no provision at all for his illegitimate children. Soon after the decease of Tuckojee, disputes arose between the two legitimate brothers about the inheritance, which Mulhar Row insisted should be equally divided and the matter being referred to the court of Poonah, Dowlut Row Scindiah, in consideration of a handsome present, took the part of the elder brother, and caused the younger to be assassinated, with many

of his followers. In consequence of this infamous outrage, Jeswunt Row and Eithojee Holkar, who were in the interest of Mulhar Row, fled from Poonah, the one to Nagpour, and the other to Calapoor. Jeswunt Row had the good fortune to elude the attempts made upon his life, but his brother was soon afterwards seized, sent to Poonah, and put to death. From this time the survivor indulged the most inveterate enmity against the murderer; and having assembled a considerable force, he succeeded in several conflicts with the troops of Scindiah, which advantages increased his confidence and the number of his followers. In the meantime Dowlut Row, having got into his possession Casby Row and the infant son of Mulhar Row, seized all the estates of the Holkar family, which he pretended to keep in the quality of a guardian, but in reality to apply the revenues to his own benefit. The contest between the usurper and Holkar was carried on with unremitting violence, and so much to the advantage of the latter, that at length the quarrel, which appeared to have been purely of a domestic character, began to take a more public turn, and to have for its object the assumption of the sovereignty, by the subversion of the authority of Scindiah and the seizure of the person of the Paishwah. The ambition of Holkar was inflamed by the absence of his adversary from the seat of government for the protection of his hereditary possessions, and thereby leaving the capital almost in a defenceless state. Holkar aware of this advantage, resolved to march against Poonah; and Scindiah being still under the necessity of remaining at Oujein, detached a force to counteract his design under Suddasheo Bhow, who made such expedition as to effect a junction with the troops of the Paishwah at the end of September, 1802. In the meantime negoti-

ations had been carried on between the British resident and the ministers of the Paishwah, with the view of forming such an alliance as should place that prince in a state of independence, and secure the interests of the English company at his court. But though the Paishwah was abundantly sensible of the importance of such a connexion, the influence of Scindiah still prevented it from taking place. At this period intelligence arrived of peace having been restored between England and France, by the treaty of Amiens, an event which gave a new aspect to our affairs in the east; particularly amidst the convulsions which were now rending the Mahratta empire. It was obvious that the ascendency of either of the competitors must have been followed by a deeper declension of the authority of the Paishwah, and the exposure of our territories to the continual depredations of an insolent and unprincipled enemy. The triumph of Scindiah was particularly to be deprecated on account of his French relations, and preponderating influence which he would thereby have possessed over an extent of country, reaching from the coast of Malabar to the banks of the Ganges. On the other hand, the success of Holkar though less injurious probably to our immediate interests, could not be viewed without alarm, since the aggrandizement of such an adventurer, and the military establishment requisite for the support of his power, would necessarily in time have generated new sources of contention, and at all events have increased our difficulties and expenditure. The struggle therefore between the two rival chieftains was not a matter of indifference when absolute dominion was the aim of both parties; and endless wars must have resulted from the conflict, let the balance have turned in favour of the usurper in possession, or on the

side of his vindictive and enterprising assailant. The very contest itself, as manifesting the degraded condition of the Paishwah, pointed out the only course to be adopted for the security of the neighbouring states, and the prevention of general anarchy. But the nominal head of the Mahratta states had no the power of determining his conduct according to the dictates of his own judgment or the advice of his friends, till his fate appeared suspended on the issue of a single battle, fought near Poonah on the 29th of October, between the troops of Scindiah and those of Holkar, in which the former were defeated with a great slaughter. On that very day the Paishwah sent assurances of his esteem to the British resident, with a writing duly attested and sealed, giving his consent to the employment of a subsidiary force in his service, and assigning lands for its support to the yearly value of twenty-six lacks of rupees. This proposition was acceded to by our government, especially as it was accompanied with a promise on the part of the Paishwah to enter into a *defensive* treaty similar in all points to that which had been concluded with the Nizam at Hydrabad. The disastrous turn of the battle, and the capture of Poonah, made no alteration in the policy of our measures, or in the conduct adopted towards the Paishwah, who, after eluding the vigilance of Holkar, sought an asylum under the presidency of Bombay; and on the sixteenth of December arrived at Bassein, where, on the last day of the same month, he signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the British government. In this important agreement, the most scrupulous regard was paid to the principles of moderation; and while a specific attention was paid to the rights of the Paishwah

care was taken to avoid giving umbrage or cause of jealousy to any of the members of the Mahratta state.

The stipulation on the part of the British government to provide a subsidiary force of six battalions for the defence of the Paishwah was guarded from misrepresentation by an express settlement, that no part of it should be employed against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta empire; and the Paishwah, in terms equally explicit, pledged himself to abstain from all acts of hostility or aggression, not only against those states but every other. Considering, therefore, the character of the people primarily concerned in this contract, the treaty of Bassein may justly be designated as an important advance made in the great work of civilization. Till this period, nothing approximating to the law of nations had been deliberately admitted and solemnly ratified by the Mahrattas, whose chiefs, on all occasions, conceived themselves justified in acting upon the lax principle of expediency; and instead of framing apologies for treachery, rather made it a matter of glory when they could succeed in supplanting the weak by fraud, or in wresting their possessions by violence. This treaty, therefore, was the triumph of humanity and justice; exhibiting a striking contrast between the protectors of the Paishwah, and those who owed him allegiance. The alliance itself was beyond question productive of immediate benefit to the British interests, particularly in the blow which gave to the influence of the French, and cut off their communication with Europe. But the most important advantage of all resulting from this treaty was the effect of the example of moderation which it presented where the opportunity of

ggrandizement was so favourable, and when the friendship of the nglish was assiduously courted, not only by the Paishwah, whose storation depended solely upon their exertions, but by Scindiah and olkar, both of whom would have purchased our alliance by large acrifices, and almost upon a conditions. Instead, however, of eeking for a greater extent of territory, or endeavouring to turn the calamity which had befallen the Paishwah to a selfish purpose, the British government generously made preparations for the restoration of that prince to the musnud, while the treaty of Bassein was under deliberation; and when any terms might have been obtained for the powerful protection already afforded, and the assistance which was about to be bestowed. On this occasion, the most delicate attention was paid to the personal dignity of the unfortunate sovereign, whose ights, as well as those of the several feudatories of the empire, were istinctly recognized and carefully guarded. To such a degree, ndeed, was the spirit of conciliation carried, that overtures were even ade to Scindiah and Holkar, guaranteeing to them their respective ates, and inviting them to become parties in an agreement which d for its object the legitimate settlement of the Ma'ratta nation pon a permanent and liberal basis, with a view to the security of ce among its several members, as well as with the surrounding ers. This was an act of forbearance rarely witnessed in political ations, and least of all a country like India, where superiority strength had ever been ndered instrumental to the gratification avarice, or the encroachments of ambition.

During the arrangement of this interesting concern, a plan of opeons was formed for the re-establishment of the Paishwah in his

government; and, accordingly, at the end of February, the whole o the subsidiary force, amounting to above eight thousand men, sta tioned at Hydrabad, marched towards Poonah, accompanied by si thousand of the Nizam's infantry, and about nine thousand caval At the same time, Lieutenant-Gene Stuart, then present with th army on the frontier of Mysore, received instructions to adopt the necessary measures for the march of the British troops into the Mahratta territory; and, accordingly, Major-General Sir Arthu Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, being appointed to command a division of the army for that purpose, left Hurryhur on the ninth of March; and three days afterwards crossed the Tumbudra river. The progress of the troops was marked in such a manner as evinced the magnitude of the service on which they were engaged; for at every step they were welcomed as deliverers; and nearly all the chiefs on the line of route joined their forces to the British army, and advance with it to Poonah. The subsidiary force, with the native troops o the Nizam, arrived within a short distance of General Wellesley, Akloos; a town near the Neera river, on the fifteenth of April, pr vious to which it was ascertained that Holkar had removed to Cha dore, distant from Poonah about one hundred and thirty miles. A the chieftain who was left by him in possession of the capital only fifteen hundred men at his disposal, it was deemed unnece o keep the whole of the allied force joined in an impoverish country; on which account the troops of the Nizam were d missed, and General Wellesley continued his march by the ro of Baramooty. While on this route, intelligence arrived that was intended to plunder and burn the city at the approach of

British army, which induced the general to make a forced march over a rugged country, and through a most difficult pass, to Poonah, where he arrived at the head of the cavalry on the twentieth, and happily found the city in safety, owing to the precipitate retreat of Amrut Row the same morning. The general and his troops were hailed as the deliverers of their capital by the few inhabitants who had remained there during the usurpation of Holkar; and when the happy intelligence was circulated of the change which had taken place, those who had deserted their abodes returned to enjoy the benefit of British protection. In the meantime, preparations were made for the march of the Paishwah, who entered his capital, and was seated on the musnud, to the general satisfaction of the people, on the sixth of May, 1803. During the procession, which was grand and impressive, the British resident, Colonel Close, accompanied by his suite, paid his compliments to the Paishwah; on which occasion a salute was fired by the troops encamped in the vicinity, under General Wellesley, which was returned from the adjacent fortress of Saoghur. While the procession passed into the city, a second salute was fired from the British camp, and the remainder of the day was occupied with similar demonstrations of joy.

In taking a brief review of these important transactions, which, without bloodshed or confusion, restored the representative of the Mahratta states to his capital, and extended the British interests throughout India, by manifesting the prudence of our councils no less than the power of our arms, it is hardly possible for the reflecting mind to avoid admiring that wisdom which over-rules the crooked policy of mortals, and turns the very means of aggrandizement pre-

pared by insatiate ambition to the defeat of its own purposes. While the restless spirit of the despot, who, by destroying the baseless fabric of republican equality, and erecting a military sovereignty in France was busily engaged in the vast design of revolutionizing the eastern world, with the object of annihilating the commercial consequence and political influence of Great Britain, an agency of infinite power and justice was employed on the plains of India, in counteracting his gigantic schemes, and providing the illustrious instrument of his future destruction. The rapid march of Major-General Wellesley to Poonah, which saved that capital from devastation, and the triumphant restoration of the exiled chief to the possession of his dominions by the generous exertions of the British government, may be considered as the prelude to the series of wonders which at a subsequent period filled the world with astonishment. Thus, at the very time when all Europe was appalled at the tremendous changes which were continually taking place in the capricious transfer of dominions from one power to another, in the creation of new kingdoms, and the subversion of ancient dynasties; and when, in fact, it seemed as nothing short of universal empire would satisfy the craving of the usurper, whose will appeared to controul the nations at that period, the limit to his aggression was drawn by an unerring hand, which raised and qualified a genius destined to frustrate his mighty projects, to defeat his numerous armies, and finally to overturn the imperial throne, that had been strengthened by numerous conquests, and was cemented by the blood of millions.

CHAPTER II.

Hostile Designs of Dowlut Row Scindiah.—Mahratta Confederacy.—Distribution of the British Forces.—March of the Army under General Lake to the Frontier.—Kanoge.—Description of an Army in India.—Attack on the Camp of Monsieur Perron, on the Twenty-ninth of August, 1803.—Storm and Capture of Allyghur.—Invasion of the Company's Territory defeated.—Battle of Delhi.

It was reasonable to have expected that the moderation displayed by the British government in the settlement of the Mahratta empire, and the cautious regard paid to the separate privileges and possessions of all the chieftains, without any exception, would have given general satisfaction, and induced a cheerful submission to the terms of a treaty that established the sovereignty of the Paishwah, and guaranteed the independent rights of the feudatories. This, however, was not the case; for though Scindiah experienced more liberality than his conduct merited, the fall which he had sustained at the court of Poonah, through his inordinate avarice and tyranny, rankled in his heart against the English, whom he considered as greater enemies than Holkar, because they had succeeded in delivering the Paishwah from the thraldom in which he had been constantly held. In the height of his usurpation, Scindiah not only arrogated an entire supremacy over the Mahratta states, but extended his views of ambition to the sovereignty of the Deccan, in which project he was

encouraged by the assurance that his French alliance would be more than sufficient to withstand any power that might be brought against him.

The rebellion of Holkar appeared rather calculated to further his designs than to throw any serious obstacles in his way, since the failure of that adventurer, an event of which Scindiah entertained no doubt, would have had the effect of establishing the absolute authority of the minister at Poonah more firmly than ever. It was, indeed, natural enough that he should have anticipated such a result from the reliance placed upon the disciplined state of his army, and the powerful co-operation which he had a right to expect in the exertions of his French allies. The defeat of his troops, and those of the Paishwah, with the temporary loss of the capital, did not abate the confidence of Scindiah, who still promised himself that he should, by his intrigues with the native princes, and his connexion with Perron, be enabled both to overthrow Holkar and to expel the English. Full of these ideas, and fired with resentment at the sudden change which had taken place in his circumstances as the director of the empire, he formed the resolution of creating new disturbances by a pertinacious opposition to the execution of the treaty of Bassein. For some time, however, he was obliged to act with great circumspection and duplicity, waiting till his means should be matured, and a seasonable opportunity present itself for the developement of his plans. The public dissatisfaction expresssed by the Rajah of Berar at the treaty of Bassein, and his known enmity to the British government, contributed to animate the hopes of Scindiah, who entered into a close connexion with that chief for the purpose of effecting the re-establishment of h

own power at Poonah; while the rajah on the other hand as readily acceded to his overtures of co-operation, in the hope that thereby e should be enabled to gain the entire sovereignty of the Mahratta tates. With the same view Holkar became a private party to the confederacy, under a persuasion that the league would facilitate the attainment of his ambitious design upon the supreme authority; and thus an alliance was formed of three powers, entertaining mutual hatred, actuated by separate motives, predetermined upon subverting each others pretensions, and yet all concurring with as much alacrity as if the principle of friendship had cemented their union, and honourable considerations had directed their efforts.

These intrigues, however, though carried on in the true spirit of oriental duplicity, could not escape suspicion, which was strengthened by the formation of a camp at Boorhanpoor, for which Scindiah assigned as a reason the necessity of opposing a force against Holkar, when, in fact, all apprehension of danger from that quarter had subsided, by our interposition. But neither this declaration of Scindiah, nor his professed desire to perfect the amity which then existed between the Paishwah, the British government, and his own states, could conceal his treachery, or prevent the discovery of his real designs. Colonel Collins, the resident, sent by the governor-general to his camp, soon penetrated into the secret councils of Scindiah, and discovered that the confederacy then forming among the principal Mahratta chiefs had for its object the subversion of the authority of the Paishwah, and the ruin of his protectors. When the formation of such a league could no longer be doubted, the resident on the twenty-fourth of March had an audience of Scindiah, of whom he

demanded a categorical answer on the subject of the suspected intrigue, the existence of which was not only solemnly denied by the chieftain and his ministers, but the former positively asserted that he had no intention whatever to disturb the relation subsisting between the British government and the Paishwa. Yet at this very time the confederacy was so far advanced in its progress as to give clear indications of an immediate explosion, and of a more extended coalition.

It was, therefore, indispensably necessary that the question should be determined without any further delay; and accordingly as Scindiah had made such repeated declarations of the sincerity of his pacific disposition, he was required to give proofs of it, in the immediate return of his army to Hindoostan, his complete assent to the treaty of Bassein, and an unequivocal statement of his late negotiations with the Rajah of Berar and Holkar. To the first and last of these demands, evasive answers were returned, but on the subject of the treaty of Bassein, a copy of which was presented to him, Scindiah, after a deliberate consideration of the articles, declared that it contained no stipulations whatever that were injurious to his just rights. Having made this frank confession, which involved him in a most embarrassing dilemma, by rendering his military array more difficult of solution, Scindiah was pressed with remonstrances on that subject, and informed that the continuance of his warlike preparations would compel the British government to adopt measures of precaution on every boundary of his dominions. When, therefore, this subtle but impetuous chieftain could no longer avoid giving some explanation of his connexions and views, he publicly observed that no satisfaction could be returned in reply to what was demanded, until a meeting should be

taken place between him and the Rajah of Berar, on the conclusion of which the resident should be informed whether it would be peace or war.

After such an extraordinary declaration, which, without any complaint or matter of dispute under discussion, left the question of war or peace to the issue of an interview between two chiefs, it would have been idle to place any more confidence in the professions of Scindiah, and not less culpable to have neglected those vigorous measures which alone could bring that refractory spirit and his confederates to a sense of justice. At the time when this insult was offered to the British government, Scindiah was encamped in considerable strength on the frontier of the Nizam's territories, where he was soon afterwards joined by the rajah at the head of a large army. The result of this junction was an active correspondence not only with Jeswunt Row Holkar, but other chieftains, and particularly with the courts of the Paishwah and the Nizam, where every exertion was made by the most powerful inducements to shake the British interest, and to procure additional strength to a confederacy, having for its main object the spoliation of the company's possessions, and the expulsion of the English from India. In pursuance of the same scheme, General Perron received orders to hold his army in readiness to co-operate with the confederated Mahratta powers, in the event of the meditated rupture with the British government. As that force was raised for the service of Scindiah, and uniformly acted with the most determined hostility to the English, there could be no doubt of the willingness of its commander to obey the directions which he received, and which held out such an alluring prospect for the indulgence of a rapacious desire, as the gratification of national vanity. The active enmity of

Scindiah was farther manifested at this period in the directions sent by him to the officers of the Paishwah, in the Province of Bundelcund, requiring them to be in a state of preparation for immediate service, in conjunction with the assembled Mahratta forces, against the British possessions. This was of itself a flagrant outrage, amounting to a declaration of war, and characterized by the breach of every moral principle that unites men in society, whether in the savage or the civilized state. Yet, such was the forbearance of our government under all these insulting provocations and wanton injuries, that even the information of the treachery of Scindiah was not received with the avidity which seizes at once any incident that ministers an occasion for vengeance. Again the language of expostulation was made use of towards this vindictive and infatuated chief, calling upon him either to acknowledge or disown the instructions that had been given to the servants of the Paishwah, and by which they were, in fact, required to commit an act of rebellion against the authority from whence they derived their appointments, and whose commands alone it was their duty to obey. Such was the habitual falsehood of this man's mind on this occasion, that he made a solemn declaration that no orders whatever of the nature complained of had been transmitted by him to the officers of the Paishwah; but that, on the contrary, they had all received a charge to respect the British territories. Yet, at the very time when this hollow professions of amity were made, the messengers of Scindiah were employed in all directions to enlarge the confederacy; for which purpose, General Perron entered into a correspondence with one of the principal of the Rohilla chieftains, inviting him to raise commotions in the Jaghire of Rampore, and assuring him,

effectual assistance on the part of the French at Delhi, as well as of Scindiah, whose letters to the same effect afterwards fell into the hands of the British Government, and fully confirmed all that had been reported of his nefarious designs and extensive preparations.

When, therefore, the safety of our own possessions, as well as those of our allies throughout India, became thus critically situated, the governor-general judged it expedient to provide against the danger, by vesting the commanding officers in the Deccan and Hin[illegible] with such a combination of civil and military powers, as [illegible] enable them to act with promptitude, according to the exig[illegible] circumstances, for the settlement of peace, or the active pros[illegible] of war. Major-General Wellesley, whose particular influence [illegible] the Mahrattas, and general acquaintance with the affairs of [illegible] qualified him in an eminent degree for such a trust, was empow[illegible] enter into negotiations with the two principal confederates [illegible] Scindiah and the Bhoonsah, apprising them of the pacific in[illegible] of our government, and requiring, as a proof of their sincer[illegible] separation and return of their respective armies. The answers [illegible] reasonable demand were marked in equal proportions of arrog[illegible] ignorance, of deception and insolence; the chieftains offer[illegible] retire from their present position on the same day that the [illegible] troops should have reached the stations of Bombay, Seringa[illegible] and Madras; a compliance with which absurd proposition would have had the effect of disbanding our army, and placing the principal part of it at a distance of above one thousand miles, while the united force of Scindiah and the Rajah remained within fifty miles of the

Nizam's frontier, to take an advantage of his weakness and our credulity.

On the peremptory rejection of an overture, which furnished additional evidence of their hostile intentions, the confederates proposed that a day should be fixed for the breaking up of their encampment and the march of the British army; which proposal was not less [illegible]rous than the former one, and differed from it only in shifting [illegible]ne of contest, for the purpose of gaining time, and taking an [illegible]age of the approaching favourable season. Finding, however, [illegible]opositions so palpably intended to cover the most injurious [illegible] against the British government and its allies could not [illegible]d, Scindiah and the Rajah advanced as a final offer, that, on the [illegible]en General Wellesley should withdraw his troops from the [illegible] then occupied by them, the armies of the chieftains should [illegible]ated, and commence their return home to Berar and the north [illegible]doostan. Even this proposition would have been inadmissible, [illegible]ground, that, as the mere assembling of the confederated armie[illegible] [illegible]ning posture was an act of aggression towards the Nizam [illegible]se of what was due to the rights of an ally, and our own [illegible], required the unconditional removal of a force which endan[illegible] the general safety. But so little regard had the coalesce[illegible] to truth, or the appearance of consistency, that, immediatel[illegible] promising to separate their forces, they made a resolution to kee[illegible] them united in the vicinity of Boorhanpoor. It being therefor[illegible] evident, that these chiefs only waited for a favourable moment t[illegible] strike an effectual blow upon some of the British connexions, decisiv[illegible]

measures became indispensable where so much depended upon local circumstances and public opinion. Ample sacrifices having already been made to secure peace, any further delay would only have deprived us of those temporary advantages which are necessary to be embraced in military operations; but what was of still more serious concern, it would have lowered us in the estimation of the native powers. The propositions of the confederates proved what little faith could be placed in their pledges, and the artifices made use of to remain in an offensive position on the frontier of our ally, the Nizam, who then in a declining state of health, plainly manifested hostile intentions in that direction. The lapse of time sustained by [illegible] negotiation would consequently have increased the confederate resources of the Mahratta chieftains now in the field, and have added to their numbers; while to ourselves it would have had the effect of dispiriting an army prepared for action, and have weakened the trust which the friendly powers had in the superiority of our arms and the vigour of our resolutions. Besides all this, and [illegible] expenditure necessarily accumulating, further procrastination would have deprived us of the benefit of the approaching season. [illegible] the end of September, when the west monsoon closes, the Mahrattas celebrate a festival called the Dessarah, with great pomp, the object of which is to remind them of their predatory origin, and stimulate their spirit for new adventures, by plucking up the standing corn in a field, as thereby indicating that the season for plunder is arrived. That period of the year was now at hand, and of the use intended to be made of it there could be no doubt, after the numerous evasions and insolencies with which our overtures for peace had been

treated. Independent of these considerations, there was reason to apprehend that the associated chieftains had some designs upon the succession in the event of the death of the Nizam, which would materially have injured our interests, and strengthened those of the French party connected with Scindiah, had the views of the latter taken effect. On all accounts, therefore, the government was reduced to the necessity of putting into immediate action the means provided for the protection of its and the subversion of those designs which were formed by the states, then actually leagued and in arms, for the direct of ravaging our territories and destroying our power in India. was urgent, the danger increasing, and the crisis of such a admitted of no hesitation, without abandoning the commanding station which we held, and becoming contemptible in the eyes Asia. Colonel Collins, therefore, the British resident, receive to quit the camp of Scindiah, which he did on the third of immediately after which the system formed to frustrate the of the enemy, and to place our eastern possessions in a state permanent security, began to be carried into effect. The plan of operations was most extensive; and the arrangements made for ensuring its success were commensurate to the magnitude and variety of objects to which our attention and efforts were directed more effectually to destroy the dangerous confederacy which already existed, to prevent its recurrence in any form, and to provide for the safety of our own states and those of our friends and dependencies, it was determined that a general attack should be made at the same time on the forces already assembled in the Deccan and

Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and upon the most valuable possessions of those chieftains. This plan of course comprehended within its sphere of operation and effect the whole of India, enabling the several presidencies to communicate with each other, and thereby of converging their means most promptly, not only against the enemy then in the field, but to the accomplishment of other objects connected with the general system of deliverance and amelioration that had been projected. The existing state of the country imperiously called for some powerful measures to put an end to the sources of contention and the machinery of ambition, which under the management of Scindiah and his foreign associates had already produced so much mischief, and which, by being suffered to go on, would have multiplied our difficulties till they became irremediable. The principles of sound policy, therefore, dictated the expediency of establishing the respective governments of the Paishwah and the Nizam upon a more solid foundation, by dissolving a coalition which threatened their independence. On the same ground it was equally requisite that the aged and unfortunate emperor, Shah Aulum, should be freed from that abject condition under which he was held by General Perron, who, in the name of that monarch, exercised an uncontrolable dominion in the heart of the empire, and over some of the finest provinces of Hindoostan. It was, therefore, obvious, that in pursuing these great objects, the British government had not its own interests in view so much as those of the natives of every description; for though the stability of our possessions was a primary consideration, it did not prevail over a due regard to the rights and security of others.

To carry these objects into effect, measures were adopted by the

governor-general proportioned to the variety of interests involved, and the peculiar circumstances of affairs. The British force collected for the purpose in different parts of that extensive country amounting to about fifty-five thousand men, was so arranged and appointed as to be enabled to commence hostilities nearly at the same moment, by which means the confederates were prevented from supporting each other, or of weakening our plan of operations, while their own was distracted in every direction, though the force immediately in the field, and ready prepared for action, amounted to four times that by which they were assailed.

In the Deccan, which, as its name implies, denotes all that part of the peninsula lying south of the Nerbudda, while Hindoostan properly comprises the countries to the north of that river, General Wellesley was opposed to an immense superiority of numbers, commanded in person by Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, whose combined army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Ellichpour.

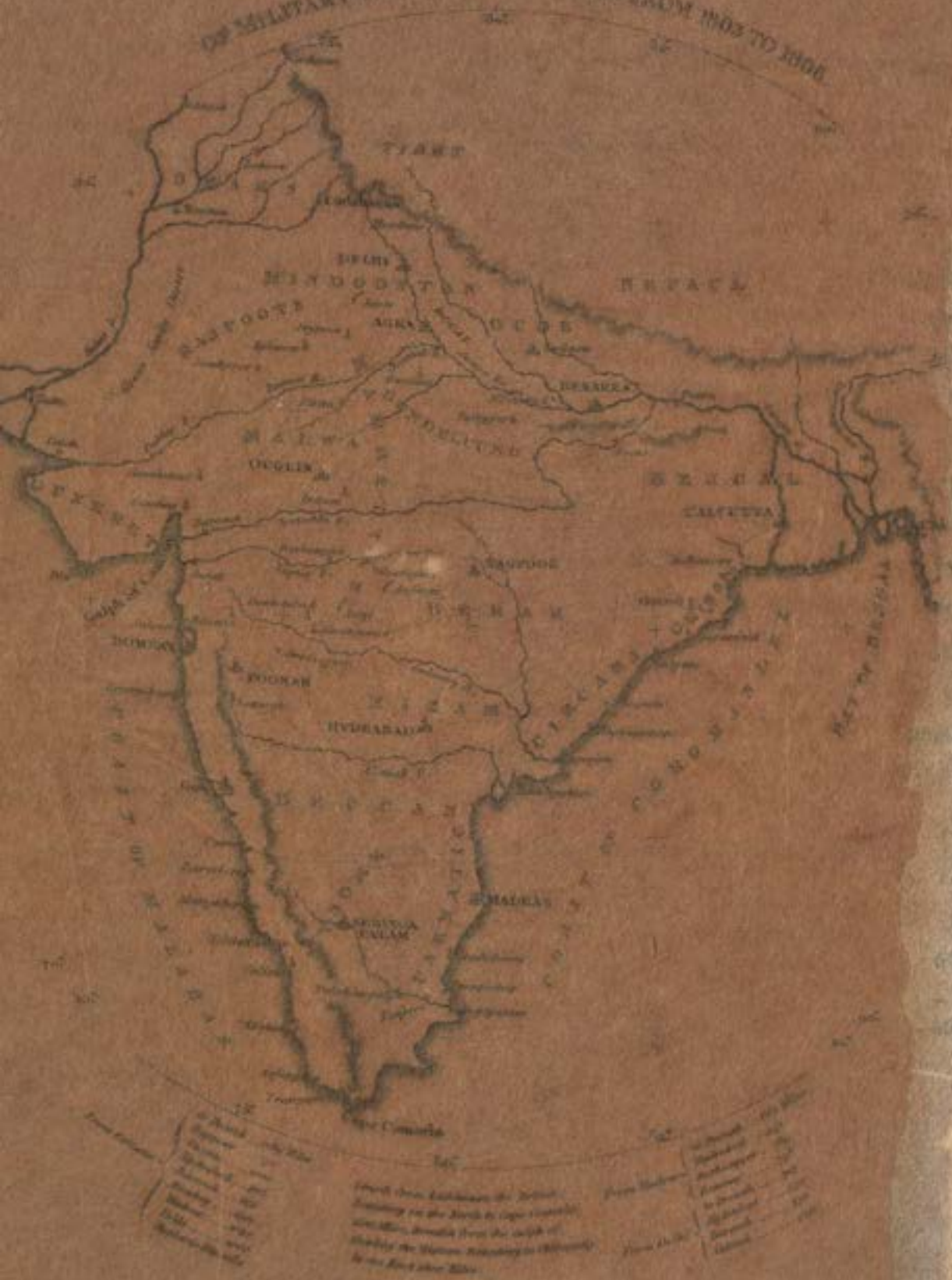
At this time, the force under Major-General Wellesley consisted of the following troops.

		European	Native	Total
Cavalry	H. M. 19th Dragoons, and 4th, 5th, and 7th Regiments of Native Cavalry	384	1347	1731
	Artillery			17
Infantry	H. M. 74th and 78th Regiments, and six Battalions of Sepoys	1368	5631	699
			Total	8307

With 367 Artillery Lascars, and 655 Madras Pioneers.

Geographical Sketch.

OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN INDIA FROM 1803 TO 1806.



Hydrabad Subsidiary Force under Colonel Stevenson.

Native Cavalry	900	7911
European Artillery	190	
Ditto Infantry (Scotch Brigade)	778	
Native Infantry	6143	

With 276 Gun Lascars, and 202 Pioneers.

Two battalions of sepoys joined afterwards General Wellesley's army, thereby making it in all eighteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-three men, exclusive of two thousand four hundred Mysore horse, and three thousand of the Poishwah's cavalry.

While that gallant officer was triumphing over his opponents, and carrying the war into the heart of their country, a force of seven thousand men from the presidency of Bombay was actively employed against the seaports and territory belonging to Scindiah in Guzerat, on the extremity of the western side of India.

This force in Guzerat, under Colonel Murray, consisted of,

Artillery	European	188	Natives 339	
Infantry	H. M. 61st Regiment	154		2913
	65th ditto	765		
	75th ditto	373		
	84th ditto	272		
	86th ditto	815		
	88th ditto	148		
	Native Infantry			1100
			Total	7339

After providing for the safety of Surat, Broders, Cambay, and the other places in Guzerat, General Wellesley divided the remainder of the force, amounting to four thousand, two hundred, and eighty-one

men, into two detachments, of which one consisted of two thousand, one hundred, and eighty-seven men, including His Majesty's eighty-sixth regiment, was stationed in front of Brodera, the residence of the Guickwar, to the northward of the Nerbudda river. The other detachment of two thousand and ninety-four men, with His Majesty's sixty-fifth regiment, was directed to occupy a position south of the Taptee river, between Songhur and Surat, with a proportion of artillery to each. The object of these operations, which likewise succeeded to the fullest extent, was to deprive the Mahrattas of every maritime possession on that coast, excepting what might be in the occupancy of our allies, the Paishwah and the Guickwar, or those piratical states with whom Scindiah had it not in his power to hold any communication.

With a similar view, another division, consisting of Madras and Bengal troops, as follows, was employed under Colonel Hareourt.

European Infantry of H. M. 22nd Regiment, and the Honorable Company's Troops	573	
Native Infantry	2103	
Native Cavalry	60	
Which Force moved with Colonel Harcourt from Ganjam.		
Captain Dick's Detachment with the Battering Train		
Captain Morgan's, who was directed to occupy Balasore		
Reinforcement under Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, marching from Jalasore	770	
Cavalry	81	
		851
	Total	4917

This force was destined to reduce the rich province of Cuttack, Orissa, on the eastern coast of the peninsula, belonging to the King of Berar, the possession of which it was seen would form a st

barrier to the frontier of Bengal against predatory incursions, and by uniting the British dominions between that province and the northern Circars, afford protection to the communications of the two great presidencies with their respective territories, besides cutting off a [illegible] source of revenue from the enemy, and preventing all intercourse [illegible] the French on that side of the peninsula.

In adopting measures for the vigorous prosecution of [illegible] against the confederated Mahrattas, the governor-general [illegible] neglect the means of defence and support necessary to facilitate [illegible] operations, by placing our possessions and those of our allies [illegible] of security from the attacks of the active and insidious enemy [illegible] in the field, or any of the powers that might be tempted to [illegible] advantage [illegible] the war in which we were engaged. According[illegible] thousand [illegible] were stationed at Hydrabad to ensure the tran[illegible] of that city, while about sixteen hundred remained at Poonah [illegible] protection of that capital and the person of the Peishwah. In addition to these, a body of reserve, under Major-General Ca[illegible] was stationed at Moodgul, the capital of the district of [illegible] on the Kistna River, and about fourteen marches from Hy[illegible] This force consisted of the following troops:

	European.	Native.	Total.
Cavalry.—Twenty-fifth Dragoons, 1st and 2nd Regiment Native Cavalry	431	846	1277
Infantry—Five Comp. 33rd and Seven Comp. 80th Regiment	609	1906	2515
		Total	4092

and the position they occupied was well chosen for keeping in check the southern Mahratta Jaghcerdars, no less than to cover the

company's territories, and to suppress any disturbances that might be excited on the death of the Nizam. That event, which occurred on the sixth of August, was, in consequence, unattended with the confusion that generally follows a disputed succession; and the eldest son of the deceased prince, Mirza Secunder Shah, ascended the musnud under British protection without any opposition.

On the frontier of Mysore, the Dewan, or minister of the country, encamped directly in the rear of Major-General Campbell, thus affording an additional security to the Deccan; while in Hindoostan similar arrangements were adopted to defend the frontiers of Bengal and Behar. Thirteen hundred men were stationed at Midnapore, to cover the troops engaged at Balasore and Jelasore in the invasion of Cuttack, and at the same time to protect the frontiers of the Company's possessions against the incursions of any of the Rajah of Berar's predatory horse. With the same view, detachments of two thousand men were collected at Mirzapore for the security of the province and City of Benares, as also to guard the passes in the hills. The officers to whom this important charge was entrusted were Major-General Deare and Colonel Fenwicks, commanding respectively at Chunar and Midnapore, while the line from the southern extremity of Pachete to the southern banks of the Soane were confided to the care of Lieutenant-Colonel Broughton. These officers were instructed to give every possible encouragement to the Zemindars of those districts, authorizing them to maintain an armed force to co-operate in the general cause at the expense of government, and for the repulsion of the enemy, in case of any attempt being

made to penetrate into the company's territories by the defiles of their several estates.

The grand army in the Doab of the Jumna and the Ganges, personally commanded by General Lake, consisted of three regiments of European and five regiments of native cavalry, about two hundred European artillery, one regiment of European and eleven battalions of native infantry, amounting in the whole to ten thousand five hundred men, besides three thousand five hundred more that were collected near Allahabad, for the purpose of invading the province of Bundelcund, under his excellency's directions.

It is necessary to observe, that of this force His Majesty's eighth regiment of dragoons, the sixth regiment of native cavalry, and the second brigade of native infantry, had not yet joined the army. The second brigade, and sixth native cavalry, were at Anopsheer; and the eighth regiment of dragoons, recently arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, had but just received their horses from the Nabaub Vizier, and were not yet prepared to remove from Cawnpore.

Having thus taken a general retrospect of the state of the country, the causes of the war, and the arrangements adopted for the vigorous prosecution of it, our attention must now be directed to the line of operations on the north-west frontier of Oude, conducted under the immediate orders and observation of the commander-in-chief. The importance of this branch of the war will be evident, from the objects to which the particular attention and energies of his excellency were applied. These were, the destruction of the power of the French party established on the banks of the Jumna, under Monsieur Perron; the extension of the British frontier, in the possession of Agra,

Delhi, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna, for the protection of its navigation; the deliverance of Shah Allum from his oppressors; the formation of an alliance with the minor states beyond the right bank of the Jumna from Joynagar to Bundelcund; and the annexation of this last province to the dominions of the company, thus affording additional strength to Benares, and opposing an effectual check to the Rajah of Berar, or any other Mahratta chief in that quarter.

This plan of operations not only tended to accomplish the desirable end of clearing the northern districts of Hindoostan from the combined influence of the French and Mahrattas, the increase of which menaced our frontiers; but in the event of success, it opened a fair prospect of our establishing such a friendly connexion with the Seiks, and the different tribes of the Punjab and the banks of the Attock, as would be the means of repelling any attempt that might be made to invade the country from the western side of the Indus.

But the attention of the British government at this time was called in a forcible manner to the abject condition of the aged emperor of Hindoostan, over whose person and authority the Mahrattas and the French exercised an absolute control. The power of Scindiah, however, was almost wholly absorbed in that possessed by Monsieur Perron, who, having erected an independent state out of the territories assigned for the maintenance of the army, reigned in the plenitude of sovereignty over a large tract between the Jumna and the Ganges, stretching as far as the mountains of Kumaon. Here he maintained all the state and dignity of an oriental despot, contracting alliances

with the more potent rajahs, and overawing by his military superiority the petty chiefs. At Delhi, and within the circuit of the imperial dominions, his authority was paramount to that of the Mogul, who was treated by the French and Mahrattas with the characteristic insolence of the revolutionary system, the peculiar features of which had already made their appearance in the east under the same treacherous guise of liberality towards the natives of India, but with the same ambitious aim at aggrandizement and universal dominion as distinguished its progress in Europe. Humanity, therefore, no less than policy, called for the release of the unfortunate descendant of Timour from the hands of his oppressors, and the restoration of his family to their legitimate rights at least, if not to their original splendour.

The existence of such an establishment as that formed by a set of French adventurers, in the finest part of the empire, was of itself a justifiable ground for jealousy, and interposition on our part: and yet this did not, in fact, constitute any of the causes of the war, which originated solely in the hostile movements of Scindiah, and the avowed designs of that chief and his allies. As, therefore, the force of which Perron had the command belonged in reality to the principal in this confederacy, and was co-operating with vigorous exertions in the same object of enmity to the English, it became expedient to destroy so formidable a power, the magnitude of which may be estimated from the following tabular view, drawn up on accurate information, particularly that given by Mr. Stuart, a British officer, who quitted the service of Scindiah soon after the commencement of hostilities.

Name and Description of Corps.	Officers attached.	Number of Battalions or Bodies of Men.	Number of Men. Foot or Infantry in the Battalions.	Number of Men. Ally Guns.	Total Number of Men in each Brigade.	Number of Guns.	REMARKS.
1st Brigade, M. Louis Bourquien	Do. do.	8	6000	1000	7000	30	Ally Guns, and generally Topas and Tumbrils, mixed with the cannon attached to battalions, to which M. de Boigne added a reserve. They also carry a small ammunition cart of their own, and are always completed to a number of eight.
2nd Brigade, M. Fleuriot,	Body Guard, 1 Secretary,	8	6000	1600	7600	30	The 1st and 2nd Brigades were in the Battle of Delhi. The 2nd gave way to the Battle of Aligurh, and was reported to Mr. [illegible] to have suffered severely in killed, wounded, and missing, so as to be nearly annihilated.
3rd Brigade, M. Pedron,	Major Sutherland in the Service,	8	6000	1000	7000	30	
4th Brigade, M. Dudrenaigue,	Three Aides-de-Camp,	7	5000	1000	6000	20	At the battle with Lake's army at Agra, the 4th Brigade, with Dudrenaigue's Corps, were stationed with General Louis's Army at Agra, and [illegible] the Force of Lake [illegible] M. de Boigne was not to be [illegible] of his Troops, in order to preserve [illegible] the General Lake.
5th Brigade,	Major Gen. 1, Brigadiers 2, Colonels 2, Aides-de-Camp 2,	7	5000	No Guns.	5000		This Brigade was not engaged. Three of the Corps were old ones, but the number new. The 2 guns we [illegible] at Aligurh, Delhi, and Agra.
Corps of M. Dupont,	With Adjutant,	4	2000	Do.	2000	Not known, about 12	This Brigade was in the field at Aligurh.
Begum Sumroo's Corps,	Do. do.	5	2250	24	2250	30	Proceeded to join Holkar's army with the 4th Brigade.
Begum Sumroo's Corps,	Do. do.	4	2400	24	2400	30	In the field at Agra, 31st September, 1803.
Lord Lake's Brigade, commanded by Lieut. Gardner,	4 Captains and 12 Subalterns,	6	3000	Do.	3000	60	
Ambajee Ingles's Brigade,	With Adjutant in the Service,	Raised to 16	6400	Do.	6400	24	Ambajee Ingles, one of Scindiah's principal officers, was appointed a colonel to M. Perron's service, and was detached under with his Corps, about the end of June, 1803. The strength of these Battalions is stated from a return in 1803. There is, however, reason to believe that the Corps was [illegible] increased.
Grand Total.		72	59,050	4000	63,050	454	The whole of the Force stated by [illegible] to have been of the Troops employed [illegible] of regular Infantry, Mr. [illegible] the number of which is [illegible]

Such was the posture of affairs, and the strength to be opposed in this quarter, when the commander-in-chief, who had been previously vested with full political powers to direct and control all negotiations connected with military operations, moved for the purpose of taking a proper position for the early commencement of hostilities, in the event of a rupture between the British government and the confederated Mahrattas.

Accordingly, on the seventh of August, 1803, his excellency marched from Cawnpore, with the infantry on that station, under the command of the Honorable Major-General St. John, followed the day after by Colonel St. Leger, at the head of the cavalry.

On the twelfth a junction was formed between these two divisions of the service at Deniah or Bellore, and the day following the whole army encamped on the plains of Aroul, near Meergunge, or Menly Ghaut, in the neighbourhood of Kanouge, which brought to the recollection of many of us the pleasures we had recently enjoyed amidst the most luxuriant scenery and delightful society, when the cavalry were encamped at that place.

Kanouge, which some modern writers suppose, though certainly on very problematical grounds, to be the seite of the celebrated Palibothra, has indisputable claims to great antiquity, from the numerous remains that attest its former glory, independently of the records which carry its origin back to a period of more than one thousand years before the christian æra. It was for many ages the capital of Hindoostan; and of its grandeur some idea may be formed from what is related in the Ayeen Akberry, that, about four centuries before the invasion of Mahmoud, who took it in the year 1018, it contained thirty thousand betel-nut shops, and sixty thousand companies of musicians and dancing girls, who paid a regular tax to the government. The situation is pleasant, and the climate salubrious: but though the vestiges of departed power are visible in every direction on the immense plain, which the city once covered with the towering splendour of oriental pride, the place is now reduced to a state of comparative insignificance.

Temples and tombs in mouldering decay seem to shew that Kanouge was a city consecrated to religion in those ages when Hinduism reigned without molestation, for which reverence it was probably indebted to the mildness of the climate, the sequestered nature of the situation, and its proximity to the sacred river which formerly ran

close to the walls, but has long since diverged in another direction, and is now distant from thence, except when its banks are overflowed, about two miles. A small stream, however, called the Calinuddy, which has its rise near Meerat, flows along the former channel of the Ganges, and empties itself into that river not far from Kanouge.

Here it was that during the preceding winter months the several cavalry regiments belonging to the king's service, and that of the company on the Bengal station, were assembled, and exercised in conjunction according to a uniform system of evolutions by Colonel St. Leger, under the immediate inspection of the commander-in-chief whose head-quarters were at this place. Among the different military improvements practised on these occasions, the use of the galloper guns was one of the most important, as afterwards appeared in the terror which they produced on the Mahratta horse. Two of these guns, of six pounders, were attached to each regiment; and nothing could exceed the celerity and exactness of the manœuvres made with them at full speed by this large body of cavalry, whose combined movements, conducted with the most perfect order, and in a spirit of emulation, gave certain promise of the glory which in the space of a few months afterwards crowned their labours.

While we lay in this agreeable situation, between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude, military occupations were so diversified with the scenes of social harmony and festivity, as to exhibit the confidence of tranquil satisfaction in the prospect of permanent peace, rather than the preparations for war. The heat of the day was moderate, but the nights were cold; and many officers had not only glass doors to their tents, but chimneys of brick,

by which means they were enabled to enjoy the pleasure of an English fire-side with their wives and families, who had been allowed to accompany them on this occasion. These domestic comforts were heightened by the luxuries of the table, where the finest wines of every clime, from the exhilarating Sheeraz of Persia to the ruby Carbonelle and humble Port, abounded. In the evenings the spacious ball-room fitted up for the purpose displayed an elegant assemblage of youth and beauty, grace and hilarity, softening the cares of life, and removing every apprehension of danger. Between these enjoyments, and the discharge of professional duty, the intervals were filled up frequently with field sports, to which the surrounding wilds of Kanouge afforded ample scope. Here, amidst lofty grass, covering the ruins of splendid edifices and the tombs of princes, lay concealed a variety of game, while beasts of prey, such as wolves, jackalls, and tigers, secluded themselves in retreats, which formerly resounded with the voice of gladness, and witnessed the reciprocation of human kindness. On one of these hunting excursions a tiger of large size was shot with a pistol by General Lake, just as the ferocious animal was in the act of springing upon Major Nairne, by whom it had been previously speared.

On quitting the subject of Kanouge and its camp, where so much was done to ensure success to our arms, it would be unpardonable to pass unnoticed the superiority of wisdom evinced by the governor-general in securing the cession of this and other districts in the Dooab and Province of Rohilcund, in lieu of the outstanding debts due to the Company from the Nabob of Oude. This territory, so acquired as a liquidation of arrears, which would otherwise never have been dis-

charged, was of the utmost importance in the present crisis, from its bordering on the Mahratta frontier, where Monsieur Perron commanded, and thus laying open our possessions and those of our allies to his attacks; an advantage of which he would hardly have failed to profit in the event of hostilities, if the country had remained exposed to his incursions and those of the turbulent Patans and Rohillas, with whom he held a correspondence. But this acquisition, besides its immediate consequence to ourselves in a military point of view, as affording a barrier to our dominions, and enabling us to act more freely and energetically in the prosecution of the war, was extremely beneficial to the inhabitants of the ceded districts, who, in passing under the English government, were relieved from an intolerable yoke of oppression. Such was the weakness of the former administration, that the Zemindars tyrannized over the people with impunity, levying imposts at their pleasure, and applying the revenues solely to their own use. These petty despots, whose treachery could only be exceeded by their rapacity, were, at the time of this cession, becoming every day more dangerous to the neighbouring states, in erecting fortresses, and training soldiers on their domains, thereby opposing the legitimate authority, opening new sources of contention, and forming numerous banditti, who acknowledged no law but the commands of their respective chiefs. To such a degree of power and confidence had these refractory Zemindars arrived through the debility of the government of Oude, that even some trouble was experienced in reducing their strong holds, after the change had taken place by the transfer of the country to the British authority. This was particularly instanced in the preceding month of March at Sassne and Bidjeghur, on the

frontier of the territories occupied by Monsieur Perron, which fortresses, though attacked by the commander-in-chief in person, were not carried without the loss of many lives, among whom was the gallant Major Naime already mentioned, who fell before the first of these places.

Having glanced at these precautionary measures, adopted by the civil and military authorities, we must now resume the narrative of operations, and follow the progress of the army, which on the twentieth of August was at Mainpore, where the commander-in-chief received a letter from Colonel Collins, the British resident at the court of Scindiah, imparting the information of his intention to repair immediately to Aurungabad. This communication was sufficient to satisfy the general that the negotiations with the confederated powers had terminated in such a manner as to render hostilities unavoidable, which was confirmed more directly six days afterwards at Secundra, where despatches arrived from the governor-general, authorizing the commander-in-chief to commence active operations against the forces of Scindiah, Perron, and their allies, unless intelligence should in the mean time be obtained from General Wellesley of a pacific settlement having been concluded.

The army being now joined by Major-General Ware with the detachment from Futtyghur was formed into brigades, and on the twenty-eighth encamped on the frontiers, within sight of the mosque of Coel, where the force under the personal command of Monsieur Perron was strongly posted, and some of whose scouts made their appearance on the day of our arrival.

The better to convey an adequate idea of the nature of Indian warfare, and to show how much depends upon the judgment of a

commander placed in very peculiar circumstances, to which previous habits and military experience can hardly afford any rule of conduct, it will be requisite here to give some account of an army in the east, and of the extraordinary elements which contribute to swell its numbers. It is obvious that in a country where no regular supplies can be depended upon, all necessaries must be provided before-hand, or obtained from a train of followers, whose desire of gain attaches them to the service. Hence the line of march increases these appendages to an army, particularly where an enemy, like the one to whom we were opposed, spreads devastation in every direction, for the purpose of cutting off the means of subsistence.

The camp followers in such a case become exceedingly numerous, and may be fairly estimated at ten persons to every fighting man; so that, where the force consists of ten thousand soldiers, there will be about one hundred thousand non-combatants, consisting of the following descriptions: first, an attendant to every elephant, of which valuable animal there are several hundreds, for carrying the public carp equipage, besides some thousands of camels, to every three of whom there is at least one attendant, with a proportionate number of tent Lascars, who, as their appellation imports, are employed in pitching and striking the tents, a service not to be dispensed with in a country where billetting or quartering is unknown, and where bivouacking under the canopy of heaven would soon destroy an army, even without an enemy, from the burning power of the sun by day, and the influence of noxious dews by night.

Every horse, whether of the cavalry or not, has, in addition to the rider, for the most part two attendants, one who cleans and takes care

of the animal, and is therefore called the horse-keeper, and another denominated the grass-cutter, who gathers forage, consisting of the roots of grass, which he digs up with an iron instrument resembling a mason's trowel. These roots, being carefully washed, constitute an excellent food; and in fact no other could well be obtained in a climate which, during the season when the hot wind prevails, is so completely bare of vegetation, that not a single blade can be discerned above ground; notwithstanding which dreariness, we have by the means here described been able to preserve all our cattle when encamped on plains exhibiting nothing but an interminable waste of sterility.

Besides an immense number of draught bullocks for the use of the artillery, park and heavy ordnance carts, to every three of which there is at least one driver, large droves of Brinjarree bullocks, from eighty to one hundred thousand, are employed in carrying grain.

These Brinjarrees, or more correctly Bandjarrahs, are a peculiar class of Hindoos, who mix very little with the other tribes. They are a hardy race of people, who live by collecting grain in districts where it is easily procured, and selling it in places where the harvests have been less abundant. Thus they are continually occupied in travelling to great distances, accompanied by their wives and families; and as they go in large bodies, armed with matchlocks, spears, scimitars, and shields, they can easily stand their ground even against a considerable force. In time of war the Bandjarrahs are of the utmost utility to the party that secures their services, for knowing well where grain is to be obtained, when their stock begins to be exhausted they set out to procure fresh supplies either by purchase or plunder.

To these purveyors of the army, as they may be properly called, who, with their connexions, surpass calculation, must be added in the public department the palankeen and doolie bearers, a class of persons at all times necessary in this country, and indispensably so when the fatigues and casualties of war require their assistance for the conveyance of the sick and wounded. An army is farther numerically increased by the servants which every officer is under the necessity of employing to take charge of his live and dead stock, for though the private European soldier receives, besides his regular allowance of arrack, rations of meat from the government contractors, who drive large flocks of sheep for that purpose, the officers must provide their own poultry, sheep, and particularly goats to supply them with milk for their tea, a beverage in this country of the most refreshing nature, especially after a long march. The attendants, therefore, which these services render expedient, may be estimated at ten to a subaltern, twenty to a captain, thirty to a field-officer, and so on in proportion. But even the privates themselves are not without their dependants, who contribute to enlarge the population of a camp, there being a cook or bhabajee to every mess, a water carrier, or mesalljee to each tent, in which lie generally ten or twelve soldiers, also a washerman termed a dhoby, to every troop or company. Such are the immediate adjuncts of a marching force in the east; but even this is not all, for besides the women, who follow the fortunes of the officers and private soldiers, there is a mixed multitude of different denominations, termed the bazaar people, consisting of merchants and pedlars, with a variety of adventurers of all pursuits, some exercising particular callings, and making themselves useful, while others accompany the army merely

with a view to plunder: and yet even these straggling marauders are of material service to the great community upon whom they depend, by searching for the concealed grain, and bringing what they find to market, with other provisions obtained in a similar way, thus preventing the scarcity that might otherwise arise in an exhausted country, where such an enormous consumption must render it every day more difficult to meet the demand. Were it not, indeed, for the precautionary measures adopted to guard against absolute want, and the ad entitious supplies furnished by eastern cupidity, the march of a large military force in the interior of India would be as presumptuous and fatal as the invasion of Persia by Julian, or the more eventful expedition of Napoleon against Russia, where the Cossacks, by hanging incessantly on the flanks of the confederated armies, and cutting off all the means of supply for such an assembled mass, resembled the Mahrattas. Military operations upon a large scale in India would be equally destructive to those who embark in them, if, like the exile of St. Helena, they were to depend upon future resources, and endeavour to inspirit their famishing troops by promising them the spoliation of a capital.

The march of our army had the appearance of a moving town or citadel, in the form of an oblong square, whose sides were defended by rai parts of glittering swords and bayonets. On one side moved the line of infantry, on the opposite that of the cavalry, parallel to and preserving its encamping distance as near as possible from the infantry, and keeping the head of the column in a line with the former. The front face was protected by the advanced guard, composed of all the picquets coming on duty, and the rear by all the picquets returning

from duty, and then forming the rear guard. The parks and columns of artillery moved on in the inside of the square, always keeping the high road, and next to the infantry, which moved at a short distance from it. The remainder of the space within the square was occupied by the baggage, cattle, and followers of the camp. Notwithstanding the immense magnitude of this moving mass, and the multifarious elements of which it consisted, nothing could exceed the regularity observed by the troops, in maintaining their respective distances, and adhering closely to the order of formation on the march. The commander-in-chief, aware how active the numerous cavalry of the enemy would be in hovering continually round, ready to dart in and take advantage of any opening or improper lengthening out of the line of march, judged it prudent to give the officers a little advice, the excellence of which may recommend it for general adoption no less than for military operations in India. The officers were enjoined to impress upon their men the necessity of acting in perfect concert, without which, the advantages of discipline would be lost; they were, therefore, cautioned, as they regarded their own personal safety, and that of the service, not to be led away by a mistaken and reprehensible ardour to break their ranks, by putting themselves on an equality with an irregular and undisciplined enemy.

The army encamped for the most part in the same order in which it marched, and as described in the plate No. 2.; the infantry and cavalry in two lines, facing outwards, thus affording a strong protection to every thing contained in the enclosure. The power of the imagination can scarcely figure to itself the sudden transformation that takes place on these occasions, when an Indian camp exhibits

GENERAL ORDER OF BATTLE, MARCH & ENCAMPMENT OF THE ARMY,

Commanded by His Excellency General Grand Lake.

Camp at Secundra Aug.t 26th 1808.

Front Line of Infantry
Heavy Train, Carts, & Bazars, Baggage Cattle
Engineer and Pioneer Corps
Commissary of Ordnance & Grain Department
HEAD QUARTERS
Rear Line of Cavalry

STAFF TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL LAKE

Political Department

with the effect of enchantment, the appearance of a lively and populous city amidst the wilds of solitude, and on a dreary plain. In a short space the rough visage of war is converted to the smiling aspect of peace; the dread of the foe is changed to the reciprocal offices of confidence; and the fatigues of professional duty are forgotten amidst scenes of festivity. Throughout long and regular streets of shops, like the booths at an English fair, may be seen in every direction all the bustling variety of trade, the relaxation of enjoyment, and the pursuits of pleasure. Here, sheroffs, or money changers, are ready with their coin to accommodate those who are unprovided with the currency requisite for the purchase of the necessaries or luxuries of life. In such a situation, where nothing more could be well expected than what serves to alleviate the present cravings of nature, every kind of luxury abounds; and while some shops allure the hungry passenger with boiled or parched rice, others exhibit a profusion of rich viands, with spices, curry-materials, and confectionary, for the indulgence of luxurious appetite. European merchants here, called sahwikers, are by themselves or their native agents, are busily employed in selling wines, liquors, and groceries; while other traders exhibit for sale fine cloths, muslins, and rich costume in shawls. Here also are to be found goldsmiths and jewellers exercising their occupations, and endeavouring to attract the fancy by a display of elegant ornaments, as though war had been deprived of its austerity, or that victory had already been decided. Besides these and various other traffickers, the camp exhibits the singular spectacle of female quacks, who practise cupping, sell drugs, and profess to cure disorders by charms. Nearly allied to these are the jugglers, shewing their dexterity by numerous arts of deception; and, to complete the

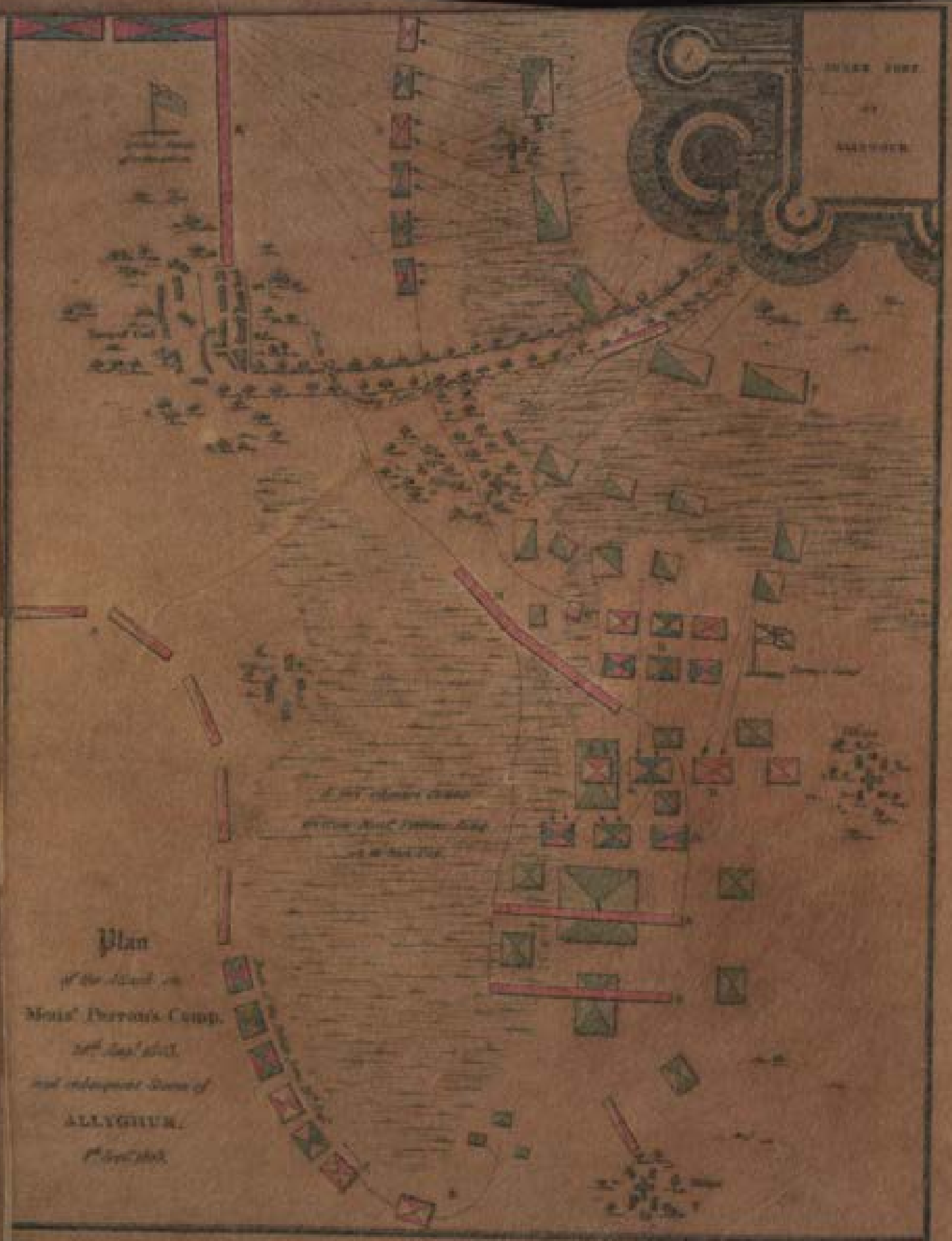
motley assemblage, groups of dancing girls have their allotted station in the bazaar. This Cyprian corps is composed of different Indian beauties, from the fair Patan to the copper-coloured Canareese. These last, who joined us with the Bombay force at Bhurtpore, resemble the gypsies, both in complexion and manners, leading, like them, a wandering life, telling fortunes, and singing, their vocal performances being accompanied by an instrument, which, however, is nothing more than a shallow pan of brass, about a foot in diameter, and one or two inches deep, serving the double purpose of cookery and music. When used in the latter capacity, a small piece of cane or split bamboo is fastened perpendicularly to the reversed bottom of the pan, which the performer holds steadily between her feet on the ground, while she moves the finger and thumb of each hand with a strong pressure alternately up and down the cane, thus producing a deep monotonous sound responsive to her voice.

The harmonious powers of these females, however, would scarcely procure them support, were they not set off by the influence of personal attractions; and, therefore, particular care is taken to select for this vocation persons of the finest features and the most exact symmetry, which they set off to the best advantage by languishing looks and a graceful dress called chulee, that fits their elegantly formed breasts, which it braces and conceals. Like the dancing girls in general, of whom they are indeed only an inferior class, they are far from considering chastity among the cardinal virtues; whence it may well be imagined that the number of these votaries of pleasure in an extensive camp are by no means inconsiderable. Of the camp itself, and its grotesque appearance, something remains

to be observed. Excepting the tents of the military, which are all of an uniform description, and pitched in regular lines, the collection of coverings used by the followers to screen them from the heat of the sun by day and the dews by night, exhibit a motley variety of colours, materials, and figures, according to the taste or circumstance of individuals. Thus, in some places, ragged cloths or blankets are stretched over sticks or branches of trees, and in others, palm leaves are hastily spread out upon similar supports; while handsome tents and splendid canopies are intermixed with asses, oxen, tattoos, or ponies; which ludicrous contrast becomes more striking, from the throngs of camels elephants making a tinkling sound with the bells which are hung at their necks or legs; to complete which confusion, an endless iety of tongues is heard, English, Hindoostanee, Persian, Arabic, and a number of provincial dialects, altogether forming a scene that may well be compated to the migration from Babel.

On the twenty-ninth of August, at four o'clock in the morning, the army commenced its march into the Mahratta territory, for the purpose of attacking the force of General Perron, bled at a short distance from the fortress of Allyghur, leavir Bazars at a village about four miles off, und battalion of sepoys and some artillery. The tr attack about seven o'clock, when immediately on enemy struck their tents; and the whole of thei about twenty thousand, of whom four regular cavalry, drew up on the plain in a strong extending to the fort of Allyghur, and their enti deep morass; while their left derived considera

nature of the ground on that side, and from the situation of some villages of which they had possession. It was against this last point that Gouzni Lake determined to direct his attack: to effect which, the army had to detour considerably to the right, for the purpose of turning the enemy's left. Accordingly, the commander-in-chief, at the head of the cavalry, formed in columns of regiments, *a a plate* 3, briskly took ground to the right; the advanced guard, *a* a charging, driving the enemy's skirmishers and advanced parties before it. Having thus gained the desired point, the cavalry were formed into two lines, *a a* and advanced to the general attack, supported by the infantry in three or four lines, *a a* as well as the confined nature of the ground would permit. But, in the same proportion as our troops advanced, those of the enemy retired, annoying us with a smart fire of matchlocks, kept up from a village on our right; out of which, however, they were soon driven by a battalion of sepoys. A large column of irregular cavalry, headed by a regular body of horse, now made an appearance as if they intended to stand a charge; but after a few rounds from our cavalry guns [illegible] did some execution among them, they soon re[illegible] by our horse, amidst clouds of dust, clo[illegible] fort; from whence a brisk fire was opened t[illegible] and deter their pursuers, but without dam[illegible] balls passed chiefly over our heads. Thoug[illegible] continued during the whole of the flank move[illegible] to the left, followed by the infantry, *a* it [illegible] and our loss was inconsiderable. Such how[illegible] ace of the front displayed by the British cavalr[illegible]


Plan
of the Attack on
Mons' Perron's Camp.
and subsequent Storm of
ALLYGHUR.

with the regular and determined advance of the whole army, as completely to overset the enemy's troops, who receded with the same celerity that our's moved forward, till having suffered much from the galloper guns, they finally abandoned the field, without daring to run the hazard of an engagement. Monsieur Perron and his body-guard retired towards Agra, leaving Colonel Pedon in charge of the fort, with particular injunctions to defend the same to the last extremity.

Although by this retreat the commander-in-chief felt some disappointment in being prevented from bringing on a general action, the operations of the day were productive of important consequences, by establishing the superiority of British valour, shaking the reputation of Perron, and occasioning the defection of several of his allies.

The affair being thus far terminated, our general took possession of the town of Coel, on the north side of which place the army encamped, the right of the camp covered by the town, while the left was thrown back.

During this day the heat was so intense that the muddiest pools were speedily exhausted by the soldiers to quench their thirst; and at midnight, on the first of September, occurred a violent earthquake, which is a phenomenon very uncommon in India. The shock lasted about two minutes, and with so much violence that several buildings were destroyed by the concussion. This town, which is distant from Delhi about seventy-six miles, has long since fallen to decay, though a large mosque and some remains of surrounding fortifications bear testimony both to its antiquity and former consequence. When General Perron fixed his head-quarters here, he caused barracks to be

erected; besides which, his European officers had private dwellings constructed for themselves, which, with the pleasure-grounds and gardens attached, presented a delightful appearance. M. Perron's own mansion was most charmingly situate at the end of a shaded avenue, about half way between the town and the fort of Allyghur.

As soon as the army had taken up its ground near Coel, the commander-in-chief summoned Colonel Pedron to surrender the fort; but that officer bearing in mind the orders of his superior, persisted in his determination to defend the place.

The conduct of the British general, in labouring for some days to prevent the effusion of blood, formed a striking contrast to that of the French commander, who, after avoiding a battle on the plains of Coel, and under the protection of the guns of Allyghur, required the garrison to make an obstinate and sanguinary resistance, in the prospect of being relieved by the Mahratta army, or the rainy season. The place itself had certainly all the advantages that could be derived from situation and military skill, so as to warrant an assurance of its holding out a protracted siege till the state of the weather should render the operations of the assailants against it no longer practicable. Of the importance of the fortress, and the estimation in which it was held, a more decided evidence could hardly be given than in a letter written by M. Perron, the commanding officer, at the time when the English general was endeavouring to prevail upon the latter to spare the lives of his men by a timely capitulation. The possibility of such a surrender was felt with the utmost uneasiness by M. Perron, who, in his pressing injunctions to Colonel Pedron on the subject, observed: "You will have received the answer you are to make to the pro-

positions of General Lake. I never could have believed that for an instant you could have thought of a capitulation. Remember, you are a Frenchman; and let no action of your's tarnish the character of your nation. I hope in a few days to send back the English general as fast, or faster than he came. Make yourself perfectly easy on this subject. Either the emperor's army or that of General Lake shall find a grave before the fort of Allyghur. Do your duty, and defend the fort, while one stone remains upon another. Once more, remember your nation. The eyes of millions are fixed upon you".

Strongly as this language savoured of national vanity, it marked also extreme art in the attempt made to deceive the English general into a persuasion that the commander of the garrison had some thoughts of surrendering the fort; when, in fact, his aim was to occasion delay till a mine then actually forming under a traverse could be completed, at the entrance of the only gateway to the place. It being therefore obvious, that procrastination would only have rendered the conquest more difficult, and that the great objects in view depended materially upon carrying this fortress, preparations for the assault were made, and the morning of the fourth of September was fixed for the enterprize.

The Honorable Lieutenant-Colonel Monson was appointed to lead the attack, and the force selected for the service was composed of four companies of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment under Major M'Leod, the first battalion of the fourth regiment of native infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, and four companies of the seventeenth native regiment under Captain Bagshaw, reinforced afterwards by the second battalion of the fourth regiment of native infantry.

During the night immediately preceding the attack, two covering batteries of four eighteen pounders each, commanded by Captains Robertson and Greene, and under the general direction of Colonel Horsford, were erected, one at a village near the fortress, and the other at General Perron's country seat, to protect the approach of our storming party, *see plate 3.* About three in the morning, the whole left the camp, marching in a circular direction towards the gateway, which was the only entrance into the fort across the ditch: on their arrival within four hundred yards of which they halted till day-break. While thus waiting in breathless expectation, an officer who had been reconnoitring reported his having seen about sixty or seventy of the enemy seated round a fire, and smoaking under a tree in front of the gateway. On receiving this intelligence, a small party from the seventy-sixth regiment was sent with the view of taking these men by surprise, and to endeavour amidst their confusion to enter the fort with them, where the gate might be secured till the arrival of the main body. This design, however, unluckily failed, through the ardour of those employed: but though the surprised party gave an alarm on discovering our soldiers, not one of them escaped to relate the particulars, so that the assailants had an opportunity of retiring as quietly as they came: and the sentries on the ramparts, while they opened a brisk fire in that direction, took the affair for nothing more than a near approach of our videts.

On the firing of the morning gun, which was the appointed signal for the assault, the storming party, covered by a heavy fire from the two batteries already mentioned, moved on till they came within one hundred yards of the gate, in front of which was a traverse, *l k*

recently thrown up, and mounted with three six-pounders, from which, however, the enemy were dislodged before they had time to discharge them. Colonel Monson then pushed forward with the two flank companies of the seventy-sixth regiment, and attempted to enter the fort along with the guard stationed behind this breast-work; but, on reaching the place, it was found abandoned, and the first gate *(a)* shut, while the entrance or sortie was raked by two or three guns, *(n)* and flanked by the bastions, *(g g g)* particularly the lower one of the enemy *(o o o)* opposite to it, and which kept up a most destructive fire of grape shot. Two ladders were then instantly applied to the walls, and Major M'Leod, of the seventy-sixth, with the grenadiers, attempted to mount, but being opposed by a formidable row of pikemen, threatening death to all assailants, they were obliged to desist. A six-pounder was then planted before the gate to force it open; but without effect: on which a twelve-pounder was brought up; though some time elapsed before it could be properly placed, on account of the peculiar situation of the gate which was near the flank of a bastion. Four or five rounds were fired before any impression was made upon the gate; and during the whole of the interval, which lasted full twenty minutes, the storming party was exposed to a most severe and raking fire, not only of musketry, but grape, from the great guns and wall pieces. The scaling ladders placed against the walls were crowded with the enemy, who left the ramparts, and came down by them to contend with us while engaged in the effort to force an entrance. This was the arduous crisis; and here we sustained our principal loss. Colonel Monson was wounded by a pike on this spot; and here four grenadier officers were killed, together with the adjutant

of the seventy-sixth regiment, and Lieutenant Turton of the fourth regiment of native infantry. Dreadful, however, as the struggle was, with death flying, and grappling in every direction, nothing could appal the determined spirit of the British troops, who, by their perseverance amidst these fearful odds and perilous circumstances, succeeded in overcoming all obstacles. As soon as the first gate was thrown open, the whole party advanced in a circular direction along a narrow road, defended by a strong round tower *(e)*. This tower was pierced with loop-holes, from which a constant and most deadly fire was kept up by a number of matchlock men, while showers of grape poured from the neighbouring bastion *(f)* and the narrow passage *(h)*.

After forcing the second gate, *(a)* which was easily accomplished, the troops proceeded along a narrow causeway *(i)* to another gate, *(d)* of which they gained possession, by taking advantage of the confused state of the enemy, who, in crowding to get through, gave our party an opportunity of passing before it could be shut against them. During this time, the troops were severely annoyed by a heavy cross fire in every direction; but nothing could repress their ardour in the pursuit, which was continued till they arrived at a fourth gate, *(b)* leading into the body of the place. Here, new delay and mortification occurred, for Captain Shipton, of the artillery, who had charge of the guns, and who, though wounded, still remained actively at his post, experienced some difficulty in bringing up the twelve-pounder; and when it actually came, the gate was found too strongly secured to be forced. Major M'Leod, however, having succeeded in passing through the wicket, and ascending the ramparts, *(m)* resistance gradually lessened, till this fortress, hitherto considered impregnable,

fell, a hard-earned conquest to the intrepid band of assailants, after a most vigorous defence, which lasted nearly an hour.

Though our loss was necessarily considerable, it was far exceeded by that of the enemy, who had at least two thousand killed, the surrounding ditch being almost filled with dead bodies, owing to the attempts made by many of the garrison to effect their escape that way after the entrance of our troops into the interior of the fort. Many who could swim were enabled to gain the plain on the outside, but numbers were drowned; and even the former, through their obstinacy in refusing to surrender, were cut up by a picquet of the twenty-seventh dragoons.

They who yielded were permitted to quit the fort, and be at large, by the commander-in-chief, who was close to the place all the time, observing with the utmost anxiety the result of his energetic and ably arranged plan of attack. The fort being carried, Monsieur Pedron, who had commanded it, was conducted as a prisoner to General Lake. He was an elderly man, clad in a green jacket, with gold lace and epaulettes: the second in command, a Mahratta chief, was killed: and two other chiefs were taken prisoners. It should here be observed that the achievement was materially facilitated by the loyal and gallant conduct of Mr. Lucan, a British officer, who had lately quitted the service of Scindiah, to avoid fighting against his country. On joining our army he undertook to lead Colonel Monson to the gate, and point out the road through the fort, which he effected in such a manner as to gain the particular thanks of the commander-in-chief, and the public acknowledgments of the government.

In the evening of this eventful day, the funeral obsequies were per-

formed with great solemnity at the head of each corps over the remains of the gallant officers who had fallen on this occasion. The five officers belonging to the seventy-sixth regiment were interred in front of their standard guard, General Lake and his staff, with the other officers off duty, attending the procession, during which the band played the dead march, and minute guns were fired. The funeral service was read by the Rev. Mr. M'Kinnon; and the whole of the ceremony had a most affecting appearance, tending to throw in some measure a shade over the brilliancy of an achievement gained by such a sacrifice; the return of which in killed and wounded was as follows:

		Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Subalterns.	Jemadars.	Serjeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Tindals.	Lascars.	Bhoosters.	Ballockmen.	Horses.
27th Dragoons	Wounded	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	6
Artillery	Killed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	..	..	..
	Wounded	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	1	..	..	..
76th Regiment	Killed	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	4	..	15	..	..	..	..	..
	Wounded	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	3	1	58	..	..	..	..	..
1st Bat. 4th N. Reg.	Killed	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	16	..	..	..	..	..
	Wounded	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	3	1	69	..	..	..	..	..
2d Bat. 4th N. Reg.	Killed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
	Wounded	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..
4 Comps. 17th Reg.	Killed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
	Wounded	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	4	..	32	..	..	..	..	..
Total Killed and Wounded		2	1	4	8	2	1	2	15	2	223	1	1	..	..	6
Total Killed		..	..	1	5	..	1	..	5	..	13	1	3	..	..	..
Total Wounded		2	1	3	3	2	..	2	10	2	180	..	1	..	..	6

OFFICERS' NAMES.

Killed.		*Wounded.*	
Capt. Cameron Lieut. Fleming Browne Campbell Adjut. St. ubin	76th Reg.	Hon. Col. Monton Major M'Leod Lieut. Sinclair Ensign Fraser.	2nd Bat. 17th N. I. Capt. Bagshaw Lieut. Boscawen.
			ARTILLERY. Capt. Shipton.
Lieut. John Turton -	1st Bat. 4th N. I.	Lieut. Col. Brown Capt. Berry Lieut. André Ensign Burgess.	

Thus gloriously terminated the attack upon Allyghur, the acquisition of which fortress threw into our hands most of the military stores belonging to the French party, who had made this their grand depôt in the Dooab. The number of guns taken amounted to two hundred and eighty-one, of the following descriptions:

Brass guns of various calibre - - - - - -	33
Iron ditto - - - - - - - - - - - - -	60
Brass howitzers - - - - - - - - - - -	4
Mortars - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2
Iron wall pieces - - - - - - - - - - -	182
Total	281

There were, besides, in the fort, large supplies of powder and shot, a number of new arms with accoutrements, a considerable stock of regimentals, consisting of blue jackets with red facings, made after the French fashion, and some tumbrils, containing Spanish dollars which last were soon sent into circulation.

From the importance attached to Allyghur by Monsieur Perron, and his choosing it for the place of his residence, it may be naturally

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supposed that nothing was omitted which the skill and experience of French engineers could devise, for the purpose of adding to its natural strength. The elevated plain, in the midst of which it stands, being interspersed with large swamps and deep morasses, becomes so completely inundated during the rainy months as to render the fort perfectly inaccessible, nor can any military operations be then carried on against it. The ditch is from one to two hundred feet in breadth, and thirty-two in depth, of which there are always ten feet of water. The several bastions and faussebray lined with guns, bearing upon the only entrance into the fort, are, from their peculiar situation, extremely formidable; and had the garrison cut the narrow passage in front of the gate, so as to unite the two ditches, it would have been impossible to have carried the place by assault. They had, indeed, the day before the attack commenced, a mine on the outside of the gate, under the traverse recently erected; and, no doubt, the junction of the ditches would soon have followed, if we had allowed time for it, by adopting the slow operations of a siege, or defended the attack a few days longer. This neglect of an obvious advantage on the part of the enemy could not escape observation, and therefore our first care after the capture was to render the fort completely insular, by uniting the ditches, substituting a drawbridge for the causeway, and thus making the place impregnable, at least, to a native army.

The value of this conquest was duly appretiated by the supreme government of India; and the high sense entertained of their services by whom it was accomplished, fully appeared in the following General Orders:—

Fort William, September 15th, 1803.

The Governor-General in Council, under the strongest impressions of public gratitude, notifies to the army his unfeigned admiration of the distinguished conduct of the forces employed under the personal command of his Excellency General Lake, in the gallant and successful assault of the strong Fort of Allyghur on the fourth instant.

The proposals of surrender offered by the commander-in-chief to the garrison, immediately after the retreat of M. Perron's forces, afford the most convincing proof that the humanity of the British character is intimately connected with that spirit of alacrity and valour which marked the commander-in-chief's judicious resolution to meet the obstinacy of the enemy by an immediate assault of the place.

The judgment and energy manifested by the commander-in-chief in the plan of the attack correspond with the intrepidity, spirit, and perseverance of his brave officers and soldiers, in executing the orders of their able and gallant general; and the glorious result of the assault has considerably augmented the reputation of the British name and the honour of the British arms in India.

The Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct the commander-in-chief to express the particular and most distinguished approbation with which his Excellency in Council has viewed the courage, firmness, and ability, displayed by the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monson in leading the attack, under circumstances of the utmost degree of difficulty and danger. A strong sense of the interests of the public service, and a desire to witness a continuance of the glorious success of the British arms in India, render the Governor-General in Council sincerely anxious that this excellent officer (repeat-

edly distinguished by his conduct in various exigencies of the service) may speedily be enabled to resume the command of his gallant corps, and to augment his claims upon the gratitude and applause of his country.

The Governor-General in Council also directs the commander-in-chief to signify to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, of the first battalion fourth regiment native infantry, and to all the officers of that battalion, that his Excellency in Council entertains the highest sense of their meritorious exertions, and warmly approves their honourable services.

The Governor-General in Council also desires that his particular approbation may be signified to Major M'Leod of the seventy-sixth regiment, to Captain Shipton of the artillery, and also to Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, Captains Robertson and Greene.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that the Governor-General in Council expresses his applause of the bravery, discipline, and steadiness, of the men of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, and of the corps of artillery, as well as of all the soldiers who were employed in this brilliant service.

The loss of Captain Cameron, Lieutenants Fleming, Browne, Campbell, St. Aubin, and Turton, is deplored by the Governor-General in Council. Their country, their friends, and their king, will, however, receive consolation for that loss, in reflecting upon the glory of their achievements, and upon the public advantage of their illustrious example.

The Governor-General in Council directs the commander-in-chief to signify to Mr. Lucan the approbation with which his Excellency in Council has remarked the services rendered by that gentleman to the

cause of his native country, in the spirited exertion of British courage and public zeal. It is highly satisfactory to his Excellency in Council to observe this meritorious example of a just attention to the duty which every British subject owes to the British government in India. The Governor-General in Council will not fail to reward the services of Mr. Lucan, in such manner as shall be recommended by the commander-in-chief.

The Governor-General in Council relies with confidence on the approved character of this army, and of the commander-in-chief, that their unabated magnanimity, skill, and perseverance, will be attended with a continuance of success, proportionate to the justice of our cause, and to the superiority of our arms.

By command of his Excellency
the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council.
L. Hook, Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

While these operations were going on in the Mahratta territory, under the personal observation of the commander-in-chief, the enemy were far from being inactive in their efforts to divert the attention of our army, and to annoy the British possessions. In consequence of pressing intelligence to this effect, at two o'clock in the morning, after the capture of Allyghur, Colonel Macan was detached with the third brigade of cavalry, consisting of His Majesty's twenty-ninth regiment of dragoons, and the first and fourth regiments of native cavalry, in quest of a large body of predatory horse, under the command of Monsieur Fleury, who, on the second instant, had attacked the cantonment of Shekoabad, on the frontier of the district of

Etawah. Though Lieutenant-Colonel Coningham, who was there stationed with five companies of the first battalion of the eleventh native infantry, had only one gun on the open plain, and was totally destitute of any advantages of situation, he withstood the repeated charges of five thousand cavalry, from four in the morning till two in the afternoon, at which time the enemy were driven from the field with great loss. The conduct of Colonel Coningham and his intrepid band was such as richly to merit the distinguished encomiums bestowed upon it in the general orders issued on the occasion by the commander-in-chief; nor was the glory of this defence lessened by what followed two days afterwards, when the enemy returned to the attack; and after a resistance of some hours, so far succeeded as to exact from the British commander a verbal promise that his troops should not serve against Scindiah during the war. On ratifying this honourable capitulation, the whole of our little force was suffered to retire with their gun, and arms of every description; but the cantonment was burnt, after being pillaged of every thing, and Mrs. Wilson, an officer's lady, carried off. In this affair were wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Coningham, Captain Lamborne, and Captain Winbolt, of the artillery, Lieutenant Stoneham and Ensign Heysham. Of the sepoys there were killed and wounded about sixty-three.

Colonel Macan, with his detachment, made forced marches after the enemy, taking possession on behalf of the company of such towns and villages in the Mahratta country as lay in his route. After passing the town of Jelasir, or "the Lord of the Waters," about midnight on the sixth, and seeking in vain the enemy at Amerghur on the seventh, we reached Ferozabad the day following, and learnt

that the objects of our search had been encamped there only the night preceding; but that on hearing of our near approach, and rapid progress, they had suddenly broken up and re-crossed the Jumna, with the greatest precipitation.

Early the next morning we took possession of the fort, but found that the Mahratta garrison, apprehensive of our design, and that they should share the fate of their friends at Allygunr, had abandoned the place during the night. Ferozabad, which is distant about twenty-four miles from Agra, is nothing better than a long and straggling village, enclosed by a mud wall, fortified by a few round towers. At the time of our visit it contained nine guns, some cattle, and a large quantity of grain.

Continuing our march the following day along the eastern side of the Jumna, we reached Etmaumdpore, at which place may be clearly seen the celebrated Tauje Mahal of Agra, distant from hence eleven miles. Here is a fine large tank, and a mosque in the middle of it, the approach to which is by a stone passage of considerable length.

The surrounding country exhibits the appearance of a wild and barren heath, intersected with ravines: and the character of the inhabitants seems to partake of the rugged and uncultivated nature of the soil, for the robbers who abound here are not satisfied without adding murder to rapine, of which we discovered a melancholy evidence, in eleven bodies with their throats cut concealed in the wells.

After marching and counter-marching several days, we formed a junction at Hyraghur, on the seventeenth of September, with the eighth regiment of light dragoons, and three battalions of sepoys under Colonel Clarke. The whole force was now commanded by

Colonel Vandeleur, who, in consequence of some disturbances having broken out at Tettiah in the Dooab, detached Colonel Powell thither with the first native cavalry, and a battalion of sepoys; while with the remainder of the troops, and a convoy for the army, he proceeded himself along the eastern bank of the Jumna, in a direction opposite to Mutra, where preparations were made for crossing the river, to join the grand army on its march from Delhi, to the operations of which we shall now return.

The fortress of Allyghur being put in a proper state of security by the improvement of its works, and stationing within it a battalion of sepoys, the army on the completion of the necessary arrangements marched from thence towards Delhi on the seventh of September, and at the close of the same day encamped at Soomna. Here the commander-in-chief received a letter dated two days preceding, from Monsieur Perron, informing his excellency that he had quitted the service of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and soliciting permission to remove with his family, property, and suite, to Lucknow, under the protection either of a British escort or his own body guard. With this request General Lake instantly complied, and appointed an officer to meet Monsieur Perron on the frontier, for the purpose of conducting him to Lucknow, and at the same time allowing him the attendance of his body guard. Care was also taken that he should be received with every suitable mark of honour, while passing through the territories of the company and those of the Nabob Vizier.

This secession of Monsieur Perron was certainly an event of great importance at that moment, since by relieving some of the neighbouring chiefs from the apprehension which they had been accus-

coped to entertain of his power, it induced them more readily to unite with the English against the Mahrattas, of whose yoke they had sufficient reasons to be impatient. Others again, who were less favourable to our cause, and secretly disposed to second the views of Scindiah, were now restrained from manifesting that inclination, or of breaking out into open acts of hostility by the influence of terror when they heard of the fall of Allyghur, and the defection of the French officers. That this defection was occasioned by the capture of that fortress there could be no doubt; and this necessarily tended to weaken the confidence of the natives in the superiority of their foreign associates, especially when it was found that a place defended by them, and considered as capable of withstanding any force for ten months, had been carried in less than an hour. Monsieur Perron, however, with the wonted policy and vanity of his nation, ascribed this resignation to different causes, one of which was the appointment of a successor, who was on his way to assume the command so long held by him in the Deccan; and the other was the alleged treachery of his European officers. But whatever might have been his private reasons for relinquishing the station which he possessed, and putting himself under the protection of the English government, the circumstance was of the utmost importance in destroying the dangerous influence of the French, and strengthening our interests among the native powers.

Monsieur Perron was accompanied by Messrs. Beckett and Fleury, with whom, in November following, he set out from Lucknow for the presidency, and afterwards removed to the neighbourhood of the French establishment of Chandernagore.

On the eighth of September our army reached Koorjah, at the distance of thirty miles from Allyghur; but such was the terror produced by the fate of that place, which had hitherto been considered as impregnable, that the fort here, containing a large quantity of grain, was precipitately abandoned two days before our arrival. From Koorjah the army proceeded on the ninth to Secundra, which it left early the next morning, and made a short march to the west of that place. The day following it advanced eighteen miles beyond Surajepoor, where intelligence arrived that Monsieur Louis Bourquien had crossed the Jumna in the night, with sixteen battalions of regular infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a large train of ordnance, for the express purpose of attacking the British force under the commander-in-chief.

Though the country passed over was fine, and the weather temperate, the troops were much fatigued on reaching the ground of encampment, near the Jehna Nullah, about six miles from Delhi, where they arrived at eleven o'clock. Scarcely, however, had they pitched their tents, when the enemy appeared, with so much force in front, as to oblige the grand guard and advanced picquets to turn out. (*a place*) As the numbers of the enemy continued to increase, General Lake went in person to reconnoitre them, with the whole of the cavalry, consisting of three regiments, (*n*) and found them drawn up on rising ground, in full force, and complete order of battle; posted very strongly, having each flank covered by a swamp; beyond which were stationed the cavalry, while numerous artillery defended the front, which derived further protection from a line of intrenchments; the whole being concealed by a high grass jun-

PLAN of the BATTLE of DELHI,

Fought on the 11th September 1803

by the Forces under the Command of the Commander in Chief

GENERAL LORD LAKE.

gle. This front was the only point that could be attacked; and here, on the advance of our cavalry, the enemy commenced a heavy cannonade. When the commander-in-chief had made himself sufficiently acquainted with the nature of the force opposed to him, and of the position which it occupied, he sent instant orders to the camp for the infantry and artillery to join the cavalry. The line was directed to fall in without delay, and move to the front by columns of guard divisions from each battalion; but the camp was left standing, the advanced picquets, increased by part of the seventeenth regiment of native infantry, being brought in for its protection.

The troops engaged in this memorable action consisted of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment on the right, and the following battalions of native infantry, viz.: the first battalion of the fourth, the second of the twelfth, the first and second of the fifteenth, the first and second of the second, and the first of the fourteenth; the artillery, the eighty-seventh dragoons, and the second and third regiments of native cavalry; amounting in all to about four thousand five hundred men; while the entire force which they had to encounter consisted of nineteen thousand, of whom six thousand were cavalry.

From unavoidable circumstances, the delay of an hour took place before the British infantry could effect a junction with the cavalry, which had advanced about two miles in front, and became exposed to a cannonade, so well kept up and directed, as to occasion us a great loss in men and horses. In this interval, the commander-in-chief had a horse shot under him; on which, his gallant son, Major Lake, dismounted, to accommodate the general with his horse, while he took one belonging to a trooper, whose rider was killed: and upon

this he continued till one of his own could be brought up, which afterwards was shot under him.

The British general perceiving that the enemy were so situated as to render it extremely difficult to attack them with any chance of success, resolved upon a feint, to draw them from their intrenchments. Accordingly, directions were issued to the cavalry to retire, with the double object of alluring the foe into the plain, under an idea that our army was upon the retreat, and of covering the advance of the British infantry. These orders were as promptly obeyed as they were vigorously conceived; and the retrograde movement was performed with the utmost order and regularity, till the infantry had completed a junction with the cavalry, when the latter immediately opened from the centre, and allowed them to pass on to the front. This manœuvre had the desired effect upon the enemy, who, perceiving that the movement was the commencement of a retreat, instantly hastened from their position, and advanced with all their artillery, shouting and exulting, as if the victory had been already secured. But this hilarity was soon checked on the appearance of the British infantry, formed into one line (o c), with the cavalry in a second, (o) about forty yards in the rear of their right wing. A party of the latter (x) was detached with their gallopers, to keep in check the Seik cavalry, who threatened the right flank and rear of the British troops; while the left of the line was covered by the first battalion of the second native infantry, (z) with four guns, (x) under Colonel Horsford, who was appuyed on the village, (•). The whole of the British force then moved towards the enemy; (x x) His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment being led by the commander-in-chief in person, amidst a tre-

mendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. Such, however, was the steadiness of the British troops, thus conducted by their veteran chief, that they advanced with the utmost coolness, and without removing their muskets from their shoulders, till they came within a hundred paces of the enemy, who opened upon them a heavy fire of grape from all their artillery, consisting of near one hundred pieces, many of which were of very large calibre.

Orders being now given to charge the enemy with the bayonet, the whole line fired a volley; and, headed by their commander-in-chief, rushed forward with such impetuosity, that the enemy gave way, and fled with the greatest precipitancy in all directions. Immediately, as soon as the troops halted, after making this furious charge, pursuant to the directions of General Lake, they broke into columns of companies; by which manœuvre the whole of the cavalry, both European and native, charged through the intervals with their galloper guns, and thus rendered the victory complete, pursuing the enemy to the banks of the Jumna, where prodigious numbers of them perished in the river. On this occasion, the galloper guns did great execution upon the fugitives; while, on the right, a party of cavalry (v) dislodged and put to flight a body of the enemy who had previously retired and taken post in a village.

While the cavalry were engaged in the pursuit to the front and right, the infantry, (s s s) under the immediate guidance of the commander-in-chief, made a wheel to the left, following the enemy in that direction, (e) among the ravines and broken ground near the Jumna, where the whole were put to the route, abandoning all their artillery and stores to the victors.

Throughout this arduous conflict, the exertions of our troops were commensurate to the importance of the service in which they were engaged, and the splendid result of their labours. Notwithstanding the intensity of the heat, and the fatigue of a long march, the whole were under arms, with the commander-in-chief at their head, for the space of near seventeen hours, from three in the morning till seven in the evening; during which, they had to struggle with difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, in being opposed to an enemy well appointed, numerically superior, fresh in the field, inured to the climate, and having the advantage of local knowledge for the choice of a formidable position. British intrepidity, however, mastered every obstacle; and, after the battle, which was fought within sight of the minarets of Delhi, the whole army encamped on the banks of the Jumna, opposite to that city, the evacuation of which, with the forts, was the immediate consequence of this brilliant action.

The exact loss of the enemy could not be well ascertained amidst so much confusion, and such a general dispersion; but, according to the lowest estimate, its amount did not fall short of three thousand men. That of the British army was also considerable, but certainly not equal to what might have been expected where extraordinary efforts were required to combat successfully amidst accumulated difficulties, and in the face of a most desperate resistance. Of this loss, in killed and wounded, the following is a summary, according to the official reports:

Of the Killed and Wounded in the Battle of Delhi,

September 11th, 1808.

		General Officers.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns and Cornets.	Sub-Lieutenants.	Jemadars.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers & Trumpeters.	Quarter-Masters.	Rank and File.	Seamen.	Lascars.	Horses.
Staff	Killed			1											
	Wounded	1													
27th Dragoons	Killed					1			1		1	9			24
	Wounded			1					1			17			23
	Missing											1			27
2nd Regt. N. Cavalry	Killed														14
	Wounded					2						14			16
	Missing														8
3rd ditto ditto	Killed		1						1			5			25
	Wounded					4		1				10			20
	Missing														12
Artillery	Killed								1			2		1	
	Wounded			1					1			11	2	13	
	Missing											1		1	
76th Regt. Foot	Killed								2			33			
	Wounded				1				1			96			
	Missing											6			
2nd Bat. 4th N. I.	Killed								2			10			
	Wounded				1		2		2	1		73			
2nd Bat. 12th ditto	Killed				1		1		2	3		12			
	Wounded						1		1			34			
1st Bat. 15th ditto	Killed						1					3			
	Wounded								3			9			
2nd Bat. 15th ditto	Killed				1					1		5			
	Wounded											9			
1st Bat. 2nd ditto	Killed								1			2			
	Wounded				1				1			13			
2nd Bat. 2nd ditto	Killed								2			1			
	Wounded				2				1			19			
1st Bat. 14th ditto	Wounded								1			12			
Total Killed, Wounded, and Missing		1	1	3	7	4	5	1	23	5	1	409	2	15	170

OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Killed.

Major Middleton, 3rd N. C.
Captain M'Gregor, Persian Interpreter.
Lieutenant Hull, 2nd B. 12th N. Inf.
Lieutenant Preston, 2nd B. 15th ditto.
Cornet Sanguine, 27th Dragoons.
Quarter-Master Richardson, ditto.

Wounded.

Major-General Ware.
Captain Mathews, Artillery.
Captain Lieutenant Cowell, 27th Dragoons.
Lieutenant M'Donald, 76th Regt.
Lieutenant Wrottesley, 2nd B. 4th N. Inf.
Lieutenant Alden and Lieutenant Harriot, 2nd B. 2nd N. Inf.
Cornets Crowe and Mather, 2nd Regt. N. C.
Cornet Swindell, 3rd ditto

The following is the "Report of the Ordnance, &c. captured opposite Delhi, on the eleventh of September, 1803."

2 Brass twenty-pounders.
5 Ditto eighteen-pounder carronades.
3 Ditto sixteen-pounder ditto.
3 Iron twelve-pounders, (French)
14 Brass six-pounders.
1 Iron six-pounder.
23 Brass four-pounders.
5 Ditto three-ditto.
4 Iron three-ditto.
1 Brass eight-inch mortar.
1 Ditto eight-inch howitzer.
4 Ditto six-inch ditto.
2 Ditto 5-inch and one-eighth ditto.

68 pieces of cannon of different natures, the whole mounted on field carriages, with limbers and traces complete.

37 Tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition
24 Ditto. ditto ditto, blown up on the field of battle.

61 Tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition.

Besides which, there were two tumbrils laden with treasure taken; and many tumbrils with ammunition carriages of different descriptions were abandoned by the enemy in the Jumna and the Nullah.

Of the above ordnance all appeared serviceable, excepting two iron ones, which were burst in firing. The iron guns were of European manufacture; but the brass guns, mortars, and howitzers, were cast in India: with the exception of one Portuguese three-pounder, some were made at Muttra, and others at Ougein, but evidently from the design and execution of an European artist. The dimensions in general were those of the French, and the workmanship highly finished.

Thirteen of the four-pounders had iron cylinders, or bores, over which it would seem the metal was run in casting the piece, the adherence being so close that no chasm appeared, and nothing but the different colours of the two metals discovered the junction. The iron cylinder, or bore, was composed of four longitudinal pieces of hammered iron, remarkably close, and neatly fitted throughout the bore.

The whole of the guns were furnished with well-made elevating screws, of the latest French improvement. To the mortars and howitzers also the same kind of elevating screws were, by a simple and ingenious adjustment, made so as to elevate the piece to any angle, and give either of them the double capacity of mortar and howitzer.

The carriages were strong and good, and some neatly made, according to the French pattern.

The tumbrils were stout but clumsy. Some, however, had the modern draught chain, whilst others retained the old trace made of green hides.

The ammunition, both round and grape, differed from that made in the company's arsenal in this, that the bags were of cotton instead of serge, and not fixed to bottoms with the shot; and also, that two sorts of grape were made use of after the French fashion: viz. large balls for great distances, and smaller balls for lesser distances.

Chain shot, rolled up into the shape of a ball, of the size of the bore of the piece, either mortar or howitzer, made part also of the enemy's ammunition.

After the battle, which was plainly perceived from the towers of Delhi, the army moved nearer to the Jumna, where it formed an encampment, opposite to the city, and the whole crossed the river on the fourteenth. The same day, Monsieur Louis Bourquien, who had commanded the forces opposed to us in the late action, surrendered himself a prisoner, with four other officers, named Gessin, Guerinnier, Del Perron, and Jean Pierre. These persons were sent off under an escort by General Lake, to Futtyghur, from whence they were to embark for the presidency. Such, indeed, was the general feeling of the people of Delhi, on this joyful occasion, that the French party, after evacuating the city and forts, found themselves under the necessity of soliciting British protection, from the effects of popular resentment.

Thus, a chain of military operations, judiciously planned and

promptly executed, beginning with the attack on Monsieur Perron's force at Coel, the twenty-ninth of August, which was as speedily followed by the assault of Allyghur, on the fourth of September, and that with equal rapidity by the battle of Delhi a week afterwards, put the finishing stroke to the French power in this quarter, and established the influence of the British character and government in India, upon a firm and most extensive basis.

Nothing, in short, could be more gratifying than to witness the expression of sympathy manifested by an emancipated nation, in the deliverance of their aged and unfortunate sovereign from a band of foreign adventurers, who had usurped his authority, and reduced both him and his family to a state of servitude. The emperor Shah Aulum, immediately after the battle, despatched a message to the commander-in-chief, expressive of the sense which he entertained of the important victory that had been accomplished, and soliciting, for his person and authority, the powerful aid of British protection. Of this, his majesty received an unequivocal assurance, which was further confirmed when his excellency waited in person to congratulate the venerable monarch upon the change that had taken place in his affairs: the same subject was also properly touched upon in the public orders issued by the Governor-General in Council, on the occasion of this splendid achievement. Having briefly noticed, with due commendations, the operations which preceded the battle of Delhi, this interesting document proceeds to state, that, "His Excellency in Council highly approves the judicious and early movement of the army after that important success, towards the principal station of the enemy's infantry and artillery, and the position

whence the most speedy relief might be afforded to the unfortunate representative of the House of Timur, and to His Majesty's Royal Family.

"The decisive victory gained in the battle of Delhi, on the eleventh of September, justified the firm confidence reposed by the Governor-General in Council, in the bravery, perseverance, and discipline of the army; and in the skill, judgment, active spirit, and invincible intrepidity of their illustrious commander.

"The glory of that day is not surpassed by any recorded triumph of the British arms in India; and is attended by every circumstance calculated to elevate the fame of British valour, to illustrate the character of British humanity, and to secure the stability of the British empire in the east.

"The Governor-General in Council acknowledges with the most cordial satisfaction the distinguished services of Major-General Ware, and of the Honorable Major-General St. John, in the action of the eleventh of September; and directs the commander-in-chief to signify his particular approbation of the conduct of Major-General Ware, in the command of the right wing of the British army, and of the conduct of the Honorable Major-General St. John, in the ability and steadiness which he displayed in the command of the left wing, by surmounting every difficulty; and by forcing the right wing of the enemy to retire in disorder with heavy loss.

"The Governor-General in Council also directs the commander-in-chief to notify to Colonel St. Leger, and to the corps of cavalry employed on this honorable occasion, the high approbation with which His Excellency in Council has received the report of their gal-

lantry and firmness, and of the peculiar skill manifested under the able command of Colonel St. Leger, in their judicious, rapid, and decisive movements during the action, and after the flight of the enemy had commenced. His Excellency in Council contemplates with great satisfaction the advanced state of discipline of the native cavalry of Bengal, and the splendid proofs which that corps has afforded of its efficiency in active service against the numerous artillery of the enemy.

"The conduct of Captain Boyce, and of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, is noticed with the warmest applause by the Governor-General in Council. The high reputation established by that respectable corps in various services of difficulty and danger in India appeared in the battle of Delhi with a degree of lustre which has never been exceeded, even by British troops. His Excellency in Council signifies his most distinguished approbation of the firmness and intrepidity of the officers and men of the native infantry; who, with His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, at the point of the bayonet, forced an enemy, considerably superior in numbers, from a powerful and well-served artillery, and opened the way for the successful charge of the cavalry. The conduct of the native troops on this memorable day reflects the highest honour upon the discipline of the army of Bengal, and confirms the confidence of the Governor-General in Council, in the diligence, skill, and courage of the officers of this establishment, and in the eminent character of our native soldiers.

"To Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, and the artillery, the Governor-General in Council repeats the public testimony of approbation which

that meritorious corps has uniformly deserved in every exigency of the service.

"To the staff of the army, the Governor-General in Council is happy to express the satisfaction with which he learns that they continue on all occasions, to merit the warmest approbation of the commander-in-chief.

"The Governor-General in Council sincerely laments the loss of Major Middleton, Captain M'Gregor, Lieutenant Hill, Lieutenant Freston, Cornet Sanguine, and Quarter-Master Richardson; and of the brave soldiers who fell in the exemplary exertion of deliberate valour and disciplined spirit at the battle of Delhi. The names of these brave men will be commemorated with the glorious events of the day on which they fell, and will be honoured and revered, while the fame of that signal victory shall endure.

"In testimony of the peculiar honour acquired by the army under the personal command of His Excellency, General Lake, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to order that honorary colours, with a device properly suited to commemorate the reduction of the fortress of Allyghur on the fourth, and the victory obtained at Delhi on the eleventh of September, be presented to the corps of cavalry and infantry, European and native, respectively employed on those glorious occasions; and that a public monument be erected at Fort William, to the memory of the brave officers and men, European and native, who have fallen in the public service during the present campaign.

"The honorary colours granted by these orders to His Majesty's

twenty-seventh regiment of dragoons, and to the seventy-sixth regiment of foot, are to be used by those corps while they shall continue in India, or until His Majesty's most gracious pleasure be signified through His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

"In concluding his orders on this memorable occasion, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the public thanks of the supreme government of the British possessions in India be given to His Excellency, General Lake, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's and of the Honorable Company's forces in India; who, with unexampled alacrity, eminent judgment, and indefatigable courage, under extraordinary difficulties, has prepared the army of Bengal for the field; has conducted it by a rapid succession of glorious victories to the complete defeat of a powerful enemy; and has maintained the honour of the British name in India, by a humane attention towards the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and by a due respect and reverence towards the unfortunate representative of the House of Timur, and towards his majesty's royal family."

CHAPTER III.

Exultation and Gratitude of the People of Delhi.—Reception of General Lake in that City.—Honours conferred on the General by the Emperor Shah Aulum.—Biographical Memoirs of that Monarch.—Letter, addressed by his Son to the King of Great Britain.—Translation of a Poem composed by him on his Misfortunes.—Conclusion of his History.

If policy gained substantial advantages by the signal display of our military prowess before the walls of the imperial city of Hindoostan, humanity had still more cause for triumph, in the deliverance of its aged and afflicted monarch from the combined tyranny of the French and Mahrattas. The spirit of exultation produced by the victory among all classes of the inhabitants plainly evinced the sense which was entertained of its importance to the general interests; and the indignation publicly expressed against the French officers, when they were no longer in the exercise of power, proved no less clearly the abuse which they had made of it in regard to the authority of the emperor and the rights of his subjects. The feelings of the latter could not be misunderstood; and the sentiments of their sovereign were in perfect unison with those of his people, as appeared in the reception of the British army, and the distinction shewn to its illustrious commander.

According to the arrangements made for the introduction of General Lake to the royal presence, the Prince Mirza Akbar Shah, the eldest

son and heir apparent of the emperor, was to have arrived at the tent of His Excellency precisely at noon, on the sixteenth of September; but, from some delay, he did not reach the camp till three; so that by the time the usual ceremonies were gone through, his highness had remounted his elephant, and the cavalcade was formed, it was past four o'clock; and the distance being five miles His Excellency did not arrive at the palace till sun-set. So great, indeed, was the pressure of the crowd through which the procession had to pass, that it was with difficulty the line could be preserved; for the population of Delhi was in a manner concentrated into a solid mass: and even the courts of the palace were filled with spectators, anxious to witness the revival of the House of Timur, which had been so long under a cloud. At length, after a slow progress, amidst this immense assemblage, all eager to behold the deliverer of their sovereign, the commander-in-chief reached the palace, and was ushered into an apartment where the eyes of beholders had formerly been dazzled by the splendour of oriental magnificence; where potent chiefs were accustomed to prostrate themselves before the imperial throne with reverence; and where the simple expression of the monarch's will was once a law, which extended over a mighty empire. But now, such is the vanity of earthly grandeur, and the uncertainty of mortal power, the descendant of the great Akbar, and the victorious Aurungzebe, was found, an object of pity, blind and aged, stripped of authority, and reduced to poverty, seated under a small tattered canopy, the fragment of regal state, and the mockery of human pride. Such a scene could not fail to make a deep impression on the minds of those who beheld it; and the degraded condition of the Emperor Shah

Aulum, while it reflected indelible disgrace upon the merciless oppressors who had usurped his dominion, placed the conduct of the victor in a light to command universal admiration and gratitude. The inhabitants of Delhi, and the Mussulmans throughout the empire, were deeply sensible of the magnitude and value of the change which had been brought about so speedily by the British arms. According to the hyperbolical phraseology of the oriental writers who gave an account of these transactions, His Majesty Shah Aulum was said not merely to have shed tears at the wondrous revolution which had raised him from the dust to the throne of his ancestors, but actually to have recovered his long-lost sight on the occasion. However extravagant this language may have been, it marked the exuberance of joy that prevailed, from the venerable emperor, to the lowest of his subjects, and their gratitude towards the power by whom this effectual change had been accomplished. Under the circumstances in which this unfortunate monarch and his family were placed, the expectation of magnificent presents, suitable to the etiquette of eastern courts in such cases, would have been unreasonable. Every mark of honour and gratitude, however, was shewn to the commander-in-chief, upon whom was bestowed the second title in the empire, running, according to the Persian language, in these terms: "Sumsam u Dowlah Ashghah ul Mulk, Khan Dowran Khan, General Gerard Lake Bahaudur, Futteh Jung:" signifying in English, "The Sword of the State, the Hero of the Land, the Lord of the Age, and the Victorious in War."

In whatever light distinctions of this nature may appear to those who consider the blaze of power alone as the legitimate source of

glory, without any regard to the means by which it is acquired, or the consequences produced, the mind of nobler sentiments and more delicate feeling will estimate them according to the merits by which they have been earned, and the spirit from whence they flow. Though these lofty titles were conferred upon the British general by a sovereign destitute of wealth, and shorn of the beams of regal majesty, the importance of the service, and the gratitude of an enfranchised people, gave a splendour to the grant, equal, if not superior, to the glittering rewards of ambition.

The acceptance of this dignity, the only one that the degraded Shah Aulum could bestow, exhibited a proof of the sincerity of our friendly professions, and was a pledge that we intended to defend those rights which we hereby recognized. Very different was the conduct of the French party, who, while they made use of the emperor's name, and affected to act by his authority, actually robbed him of every vestige of state, and totally annihilated his civil and military power. Of this degradation, the British government witnessed a curious instance; when, at the commencement of hostilities, a secret negotiation was opened with the emperor, through Seud Rezza Khan, the confidential agent of the resident at Delhi, offering his majesty an asylum from the French and Mahratta tyranny. To that overture, the aged monarch returned an answer expressive of his acknowledgments, and of his ardent desire to take the benefit of the proferred protection. Yet, after this communication, an official letter was sent to the governor-general, signifying that he had confided the direction of all his affairs to Dowlut Row Scindiah, and his delegate, M. Perron: adding the still more extraordinary declaration, that it

was his intention to take the field in person, and requesting that his excellency would forbid the further continuation of military operations. This last observation from a man bowed down with extreme age, blind, and incapable of action, demonstrated at once the quarter with whom the letter originated, and the scandalous abuse that had been made of the imperial signet. But it was universally known, that the royal prisoner at Delhi was never permitted by the officers who had the charge of his person, under the immediate authority of Scindiah and Perron, to forward any letter that had not previously met with their sanction. The answer received by the governor-general to that which he forwarded for the private consideration of the emperor was secretly drawn up and conveyed, so as to leave no doubt in regard to the real sentiments of his majesty, and the cruel servitude to which he was kept. Such, however, was the impression of fear on the minds of the oppressors, excited by the preparations of our government, that letters of similar import, manifesting the unshaken attachment of the emperor to Scindiah, and his friend, Perron, were sent at the same time to different leading courts in Hindoostan. This studied care to create a belief that the condition of Shah Aulum was the reverse of what it really was could deceive no one who had the least acquaintance with the state of Delhi, the circumstances of its venerable sovereign, or the character and intrigues of the usurpers who so wantonly abused his name, while they kept him in penury and bondage. The entrance of the British commander into the capital, and the wretched situation in which he found the descendant of so many illustrious monarchs, clearly proved the forgeries that had been committed in his name, by those who had despoiled

him and his family of the few fragments of power and property left by the vicissitudes of fortune. Even after the victory, which destroyed the despotic sway of the French at Delhi, their duplicity was remarkably displayed in an attempt made to screen the property of Dowlut Row Scindiah from the captors, under the pretext that the money belonged to the emperor only; for which purpose, the whole, amounting to near six lacs of rupees, was artfully deposited with the imperial treasurer, to prevent its falling into the hands of the British commander. When this fact came to the knowledge of the general, he, in the most respectful manner, reclaimed the property as lawful prize; on which the whole was accordingly sent to the camp, with a message from the emperor, requesting that the same might be accepted as an offering to the brave army whose valour had delivered his majesty from the yoke of the French and Mahratta power. But though the money was received, the governor-general thought proper to object against the acceptance of that as a gift which of right appertained to the captors; and, therefore, he ordered an equivalent sum to be paid into the royal treasury for the use of the emperor, whose personal feelings were hereby respected, while the rule of justice was strictly observed.

This affair being settled to the satisfaction of all parties, excepting those who had thought to have profited by the notable scheme of making the impoverished monarch an instrument of fraud, the British government adopted the necessary measures for the support of the imperial family, and the security of the capital, with its dependencies. Thus, the Emperor Shah Aulum, at the close of his days, became indebted for deliverance and support to the very power whose pro-

tection he had formerly rejected, and to which infatuation might be traced all the calamities that afterwards clouded his melancholy reign.

Of this eventful history some particulars may not be improper in this place, both as interesting in themselves, and illustrative of the transactions which form the immediate subject of the memoir.

Alumghir the Second, father of Shah Alum, owed his elevation to one of those civil broils with which the history of India so remarkably abounds. His predecessor, Ahmed Shah, by the effeminacy of his character, and placing too much confidence in his minister, who abused the trust reposed in him, lost his throne, and was deprived of his sight in the year 1755. This revolution was effected by Ghazi-ud-deen Khan, a disappointed officer, of high rank and restless character, who, inflamed with resentment against the sovereign, and his vizir, entered into a league with the Mahrattas, by whose assistance he succeeded in cutting off his rival, and deposing his master. His object after this was to seek out the next in descent of the house of Timur, and to place him nominally on the throne, while the power and revenues of the empire remained in his own hands. The new monarch, however, was far from being easy in this state of dependence, the yoke of which he endeavoured to shake off by secretly inviting the celebrated Ahmed Abdallee to invade the empire. This call was readily accepted; and as the new vizir was too weak to stand before such a force, he made a virtue of necessity, and went out to welcome his adversary, whom he conducted into Delhi. Among other changes which the Abdalli effected during his stay, the principal was that of removing Ghazi-ud-deen Khan from the vizirship, which post, under the name

of Naib of the empire, was conferred upon Ally Gowher, the oldest son of the monarch. The deprived minister, however, soon afterwards found means to ingratiate himself into the favour of the Abdalli, who capriciously ordered that he should be re-invested in his office. Offensive as this injunction was to the sovereign of Delhi, by compelling him to restore the man whom he hated, the circumstance was still more so when it placed him under the necessity of removing his own son from the second station in the empire. He remonstrated against the proceeding, but he had not the power to do more; and the haughty Abdalli immediately caused the badge of the vizarat to be taken from the prince by force, and given to Ghazi-ud-deen Khan, who now became more absolute and insolent than ever. On the departure of the Abdalli, whose visit had been attended with effects the very reverse of what might have been expected, Ally Gowher, afterwards Shah Aulum, fled to Jedgee, his patrimonial estate, where, being justly apprehensive of designs upon his person, he raised forces for his defence. The vizir, however, by his promises, confirmed with an oath upon the Koran, persuaded him to return to the neighbourhood of the capital: but no solicitations could prevail upon him to live in the palace, from whence he well knew the artful minister would never suffer him to depart. When, therefore, the latter found that his designs were detected, he had recourse to violence, and endeavoured to seize the person of the prince, who, after a stout resistance, made his escape, and sought an asylum with the Nabob Sujah ud Dowlah at Lucknow, at whose instigation he made an attempt to wrest Bengal from Jaffier Ally Khan. This brought the prince into contact with the English, by whose assistance the chief whom he opposed had been

raised to the government, and who, of course, were under the necessity of maintaining him in the possession of it, for the security of their settlements in India. The rapid operations of Colonel Clive soon defeated the projects of Sujah ud Dowlah, and the prince whom he protected was compelled to make a precipitate retreat to the borders of the province of Allahabad, where he was abandoned by most of his followers, and reduced to a state of great distress. Such was the posture of affairs in 1759, when the vizir, being again threatened with the vengeance of the Abdalli, formed the abominable design of assassinating his master, which he carried into effect, by persuading the deluded monarch to visit a pretended saint in the tower of Feroz Shah. After perpetrating this atrocious deed, the murderer caused one of the descendants of the youngest son of Aurungzebe to be proclaimed by the name of Shahjehan the second. The traitor could not, however, secure the power which he had usurped, even with the aid of the Mahrattas, for the Abdalli making himself master of the capital, the vizir fled to Agra, whither he was so closely pursued as to be obliged to remove into the country of the Jauts, where he remained during his life. After this, the conqueror offered the vacant throne to the hereditary prince, who had previously assumed the imperial title under the name of Shah Aulum, appointing his friend Sujah ud Dowlah to the vizirship. At this period he was still engaged in his attempts upon Bengal; but, though aided by the French party, he was unsuccessful, and driven to the necessity of surrendering himself to the English, who assigned him the city of Allahabad for his residence, with the district of Corah, and a revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees for his maintenance; in return for this grant, Shah Aulum

directed a firmaun to be made out, constituting the company perpetual dowaun, or treasurer of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He was now safe under British protection, possessed of a liberal establishment, and enjoying a court sufficiently splendid for his circumstances. But after remaining five years in this tranquil state, he was, unhappily for himself, tempted to leave Allahabad for the imperial city of Delhi, where Nejeeb al Dowlah, his viceroy, had hitherto governed, highly to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, and with a careful regard to the interests of his sovereign. But the Mahrattas, with a view to their own aggrandizement, and the uncontrolable rule of the empire, persuaded Shah Aulum that his dignity, as the descendant of the illustrious House of Timur, was lessened by his present situation. These fallacious representations, which originated in a spirit of avarice and ambition, operated upon the mind of the monarch to such a degree, that neither the reasonings of the English government, nor the intreaties of the vizir, could divert him from the resolution which he had formed of making Delhi his future residence. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1771, the emperor made his entry into that capital with great pomp, and amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who rejoiced to see the imperial court once more established in the ancient city of the Moguls.

The ill-fated Shah Aulum soon discovered the error he had committed, but without being able to rectify it, or to prevent the misfortunes which that act of credulous vanity had a natural tendency to produce. He had scarcely been seated on the throne of his ancestors, before a rebellion broke out in one of the provinces; and, though he

was fortunate enough to suppress it, the advantage was of little moment, as the Mahratta forces seized all the treasures taken in the battle, and refused to admit the Mogul troops to any participation in the spoil. This conduct naturally occasioned great jealousy among the subjects of the emperor, who was himself no less disgusted at the arrogance of the Mahratta chiefs; but, shortly afterwards, he had still stronger proofs of their rapacity and treachery; when, instead of prosecuting the war against the Jauts, they entered into a league with the late rebel Zabita Khan, whose cause they espoused; and, in consideration of a large sum which he gave them, demanded that he should not only be pardoned, but invested with the high distinction of Ameer ul Omrah. The emperor, though sunk as he already was in power and fortitude, had spirit enough to resist this audacious insult, and prepared for battle; but, finding that his force was too weak to contend with the confederates, who were advancing towards Delhi, he was reluctantly compelled to submit to their terms. These attacks upon the authority of the sovereign were aggravated by acts of outrage committed for the sake of plunder in various districts, and particularly in the Province of Rohilcund, which the Mahrattas laid waste, with peculiar circumstances of barbarity, though it was in the time of peace. In consequence of these irruptions, a treaty was entered into between the chief of the Rohillas, the Vizir Sujah ul Dowlah, and the English; to which Shah Aulum was also friendly; and, during the negotiations, signified to the British government that it was now as much his earnest desire to be rid of the bondage in which he was held by the Mahrattas, as he had before been partial to them; adding, that every exertion should be made on his part to defeat their

projects, by giving information of their intended operations. This powerful coalition had the effect of relieving the emperor for some time from the troublesome presence of the Mahrattas; and during the administration of Mirza Nujuff Khan, he enjoyed considerable ease from the cares of sovereignty; but, on the death of that distinguished nobleman, in the early part of the year 1782, the court of Delhi became a perpetual scene of disorder, through the intrigues and contentions of rival chiefs. In all these confusions, the authority of the monarch declined so rapidly as to leave him destitute of a choice; for, amidst the conflicting interests, none of the parties thought the royal will of the least consequence, either to the attainment of place, or the security of power. Petty but sanguinary wars were carried on in the heart of the imperial dominions; and the unhappy Shah Aulum was not only under the necessity of remaining a passive spectator of these commotions, but compelled to receive into favour, and to honour with distinction, men reeking from assassination, and stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. The most fierce and arrogant of these chiefs was Afrasiab Khan, a soldier of eminent talents and great personal bravery, but of boundless ambition and ungovernable passions. He was indebted for his elevation in the army to the late minister, on whose death he found no difficulty in obtaining the office of Ameer al Omrah, as his popularity in the army gave him a weight of influence which none of his competitors could withstand. The extreme violence of this man, however, hastened his own ruin and that of his master, over whom he exercised despotic sway, with so much insolence, as to induce Shah Aulum to form the resolution of throwing himself again under the protection of the

Mahrattas. A secret negotiation to this effect was carrying on when the minister persuaded the emperor to remove his court to Agra: but while encamped before that place, Afrasiab Khan was assassinated in his tent; and Madhajee Scindiah, upon whom the suspicion naturally fell of having instigated the deed, succeeded to the vacant office. The troubles of the unhappy monarch were only changed by this event; and, though the government of Scindiah was marked by vigour, and attended with some brilliant successes, it had not the effect of allaying popular discontent, or of adding to the stability of the throne. The death of the minister was followed the same year by that of the rebellious chief Zabita Khan; two occurrences which at any other time might have given cause for public rejoicing; but, in the present circumstances, both were pregnant with new oppressions and more affecting calamities. Though Scindiah was at first favoured by the Mogul nobility, he soon made them his enemies, by the rapacity of his conduct, and the haughtiness of his disposition. Hence, the materials of a fresh revolution quickly accumulated; and an instrument to put them in motion could not be wanting in a country where the people have ever been too much familiarized to such scenes to take any particular interest in the fall of a minister. Gholaum Caudir, the son and successor of Zabita Khan, immediately on coming into possession of his patrimonial estate, broke out into open rebellion against the imperial authority, in which he was secretly encouraged by the treacherous nazir or steward of the household. The intelligence of this defection had scarcely reached Delhi, before the combined Mahratta and Mogul forces were under the necessity of taking the field against Pertaub Sing, Rajah of Jynaghur, who also

had asserted his independence. In this war, which Scindiah conducted in person, the royal army was defeated, and the commander compelled to seek safety in flight, which gave an opportunity to Gholaum Caudir to appear suddenly on the banks of the Jumna, where he encamped, opposite the city. The deputy-governor, instead of adopting precautionary measures for the defence of the place, imprudently sent troops across the river to attack the Rohilla camp, of the strength of which he had no correct information; and, in consequence, sustained a disgraceful defeat, which obliged him to abandon his post, and leave the city in confusion. The invader, however, could not succeed in his ambitious project without encountering opposition from the few faithful adherents of the monarch, particularly the Begum Somroo, a woman of singular intrepidity, whose firmness inspired others with such zeal, that Gholaum Caudir was in consequence obliged to return hastily to his camp, after being admitted to the royal presence, where he made a demand of the office vacated by the abdication of Scindiah. The Rohilla chief retired, breathing vengeance against his opponents; and a spectacle ensued which any where but in Hindoostan would scarcely seem credible, that of a candidate for the second department in the state bombarding the palace to enforce a compliance with his wishes. Such, however, was the spirited resistance which the rebel experienced for a short time from the Mogul nobility, who felt as became them on this occasion, that had Shah Aulum himself possessed sufficient energy, he might have gained a triumph over his enemies, and ended his days in ease and honour. At this critical moment, when a flame of loyalty was suddenly kindled, which only wanted presence

of mind and fortitude to diffuse itself through the imperial dominions, the hereditary Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, who had been long a voluntary exile in the British territories, was making forced marches to the assistance of his father. Of this the nazir was aware; and being fearful that the arrival of the prince would circumvent the plan which he had laid for the elevation of Gholaum Caudir, he gave that chief information of the approach of his highness to the capital, recommending him to lose no time in making his submission to the emperor.

With this advice the Rohilla complied; and having expressed deep contrition for the insult offered by him to his sovereign, he promised to restore all the royal lands which he had recently usurped. Shah Aulum, however, was too well acquainted with the character of the man to put any faith in his professions, and refused at first to receive him into favour. But the treacherous nazir, by his intreaties and artful representations on the behalf of Gholaum Caudir, prevailed at length in obtaining a royal pardon for his friend, who instantly returned to Sehanrumpore just as the hereditary prince arrived at court, where he had the mortification to witness the triumph of the rebel, and the weakness of his father, who yet embraced his son with great affection, and immediately invested him with the management of his affairs. Even now, Shah Aulum might have reposed in the bosom of his family with security and comfort, had he possessed so much strength of mind as to have placed more confidence in his son than in his minister. The prince had given repeated proofs of his fidelity; and even the privations suffered by him, in chusing to depend upon the bounty of foreigners for his support, rather than witness the degra-

dation of his father and sovereign, ought to have endeared him in the estimation of Shah Aulum. While he resided at Lucknow, he made many ineffectual efforts to procure the aid of the English government for the deliverance of the emperor, notwithstanding which, he ventured just before this revolution to address a letter in Persian to His Majesty the King of Great Britain on the subject. In this affecting epistle, after the usual complimentary language, and expressing a grateful sense of his obligations to Mr. Hastings for the protection afforded him in his distress, the prince proceeded to state the failure of his endeavours to interest the company in behalf of his family. He then briefly touched upon the confusions of the empire for some years preceding, and concluded as follows:

"During this interval, from the relaxed state of the government, and in consequence of the arrival of the deceitful Mahrattas, and of Scindiah, who is chief of the seditious, these disturbances and rebellions, increasing in tenfold proportion, have augmented the distress of our august parent; and notwithstanding the wholesome advice and salutary counsel given from the throne to the aforesaid chief, to conciliate the attachment of the ancient nobility, and to extend protection to the distressed peasantry (a conduct, which, under divine favour, gives security and permanency to empire), that ungrateful chief, regardless of the royal will, has established himself in continued and unvaried opposition, until having by his oppressions exasperated the rajahs and princes of our empire, and particularly the most illustrious prince of Jynaghur, the pillar of fidelity, Maharajah Pertaub Sing, as likewise the ruler of Joudpore, both of whom are allied in blood to the royal family, these warlike chiefs united to punish the

tyrant, gave him battle, and defeated him; so that, deprived of his office of Ameer al Omrah, or chief of the nobles, he fell at once from the summit of imperial favour, and was precipitated into the abyss of annihilation and contempt. But amidst these changes of fortune, the machinations of the rebellious increased almost to an immeasureable extent. On one side Gholaum Caudir Khan (son of the detested Afghan Zabita Khan, whose whole life was employed in conspiring against the safety of the state) has hoisted the standard of rebellion: His example having encouraged others, the disturbances became so formidable as to penetrate even to the threshold of the imperial palace, so that our august parent was compelled to make use of the most strenuous exertions to extinguish this destructive fire.

"For this purpose he despatched repeated and urgent commands to this your suppliant, as well as solicitations to the governor-general of high dignity (Lord Cornwallis), and to our dear brother the vizir of the empire (Sujah ud Dowlah) to come to the assistance of the imperial court. But, it appearing that on the arrival of the imperial letters, neither the governor-general nor the vizir of the empire had received your majesty's injunctions to that effect, they were of course constrained to withhold the assistance required.—We, therefore, girding the loins of circumspection with the belt of resolution, and casting our eyes towards future events, and the mercy of divine providence, in this stormy ocean of our distress, rely on your majesty for the restoration of our authority; and if your majesty, who adorns the throne of the universe, will graciously condescend to issue your high commands to the governor-general to effect the restoration of the royal authority in these kingdoms, punish our rebellious

subjects, and re-establish the august house of Timur, such conduct will be perfectly consistent with the dictates of generosity, and the customs of sovereign princes; and finally, the result of this kind interposition, by settling the repose of the people of God, and affording peace and plenty to a distressed empire, will render your majesty's name renowned among the princes of the earth.

"As our honoured parent, his imperial majesty, bound by every tie of gratitude, regards your majesty as a brother dearer than life, so this, your suppliant, hopes to be honoured by the endearing appellation of your nephew.

"For the rest, may the sun of your majesty's grandeur and prosperity be perpetually resplendent in the sphere of glory and auspicious fortune!"

It is doubtful whether this touching memorial ever reached the illustrious personage to whom it was addressed; but it is more to be regretted that the circumscribed policy of the British government in the east prevented any interference on our part in the concerns of this unhappy family.

The prince had not long the satisfaction of enjoying the good opinion of his aged father, who again gave way to the natural credulity of his temper, and suffered himself to be imposed upon by the basest insinuations against the loyalty of his gallant son. The treacherous Nazir, of whose perfidy Shah Aulum had recently experienced the clearest proofs, exerted his infamous arts with so much success as to persuade the infatuated monarch that the prince entertained designs upon the throne.

When the poison took effect upon the royal mind, it was no difficult

matter to make the emperor believe that the very measures adopted under the vigorous administration of his son had in reality a parricidical design. Mirza perceiving that his father's affections were alienated from him, and that, in consequence, his life was in danger, quitted the imperial territory, and again took shelter under the patronage of the English government at Benares, where, some months afterwards, a violent fever terminated his misfortunes. Thus did the wretched emperor deprive himself of the only prop of his old age, and that too under circumstances when he stood in peculiar need of such a support. Surrounded by chiefs in whom he could place no trust, and who were either acting in defiance of his authority, or intriguing among themselves for the usurpation of power, the only hope of Shah Aulum lay in the approach of Scindiah with the Mahratta forces, of whose advance he received intimation while engaged in endeavouring to reduce Nujuff Cooli Khan to obedience.

That refractory chief, trusting to the natural strength of his fortress of Gocul Ghur, and the means prepared for its defence, resisted the payment of customary dues, and refused to acknowledge the imperial jurisdiction on any other condition than that of being appointed to the office of Ameer al Omrah. Shah Aulum was at first disposed to comply with this requisition; but being overruled by his council, consisting of chiefs who themselves laid claim to the same honours, hostilities ensued, and an assembled force appeared before Gocul Ghur, the garrison of which held out for some time with great obstinacy.

During the siege of this place the emperor had a very narrow escape for his life, in a sudden attack made upon that part of the camp where the royal tent was pitched: but while his own guard was panic

struck, and the greatest part of the army in confusion, the Begum Somroo, who was at the extremity of the line, no sooner heard that her sovereign was in danger, than she hastened at the head of one hundred men and a single field piece to his rescue, which she accomplished, and actually drove the assailants under the walls of the fort. Such was the effect of this gallantry, that Nujuff Cooli Khan made overtures of submission, which were accepted; and the emperor returned to Delhi, leaving Ismael Beg to pursue the siege of Agra. Scarcely, however, had the imperial army broken up from before Gocul Ghur, than the approach of the Mahrattas under Scindiah was announced, with the information that he had succeeded in taking several forteresses from the Mogul chiefs; and that his obvious intention was to hazard a general action for the recovery of his authority. In this exigency, Ismael Beg having formed engagements with Gholaum Caudir Khan, felt confident of his ability to repulse the invader; but that chief, with his accustomed treachery, abandoned his associate the moment that the Mahratta army appeared in sight. A battle, however, ensued, and for some time victory seemed doubtful; but the good fortune of Scindiah prevailed; and Ismael Beg was compelled to fly into the territories of the vizir, leaving the whole of his camp in the hands of the conqueror, who entered Agra in triumph.

Thus, the Mahratta authority was re-established in the empire of Hindoostan; and Gholaum Caudir, despairing now of attaining the object of his ambition, formed the scheme of gratifying his avarice by the plunder of the imperial palace. With this view, he entered into a negotiation with Ismael Beg, who, notwithstanding his experience of the perfidy of Gholaum Caudir, readily accepted his apologies for

having abandoned him in the late battle, and consented to join in his nefarious projects. It should, however, be observed, that the coalition between these chiefs was cemented also by motives of mutual revenge, occasioned by the knowledge which they had obtained of a private correspondence having been carried on between the emperor and Scindiah. Such, indeed, was the extreme imprudence of Shah Aulum, that, totally regardless of the lessons of experience, he wrote letters with his own hand to the Mahratta prince, expressing the entire confidence which he placed in his success, and urging him to hasten his advance without delay, for the punishment of the emperor's enemies and his own. Some of these unguarded epistles, coming into the hands of the nazir, were communicated by him to Gholaum Caudir, who, in consequence, lost no time in effecting a reconciliation with Ismael Beg, for the purpose of facilitating the diabolical design which he had formed against his sovereign. The two chiefs marched towards Delhi, which, though garrisoned by a Mahratta force, offered no resistance to the conspirators, who obtained possession of the palace and of the person of the emperor. A treaty was here drawn up, by which, in return for the appointment of Gholaum Caudir to the sole direction of affairs, that perfidious traitor pledged himself by an oath to defend the monarch and his interests against all opposition. In the midst of these disgraceful scenes, only one servant of Shah Aulum was found spirited and honest enough to give him salutary counsel. This was Seetul Doss, the treasurer of the household, who freely told his master that no reliance could be placed on the promises of the Rohilla chief; offering at the same time, at his personal risk, to put him instantly to death. The infatuated monarch,

however, disregarded the advice, and ratified the treaty, which he had no sooner done than the guards were disarmed, the officers seized, and the palace completely filled with rebel soldiers. Shah Alum, who now saw his error, when it was too late, remonstrated against the perfidy of Gholaum Caudir; but his complaints were only received with cruel mockery; and after undergoing many indignities, he was compelled to quit the throne, on which a son of the late Ahmed was seated, under the title of Jehan Shah. The [illegible] of the unhappy monarch, however, did not terminate here. When the rebel found that the riches in the palace fell far short of expectations, and that, in fact, the treasury was exhausted, in a paroxysm of rage, caused the dethroned sovereign to be brought before him in the chamber of audience, and sternly demanded that he had concealed his wealth. It was in vain that the unfortunate monarch pleaded his penury, and protested the utter incapability of himself or his family to secrete any property. Unsatisfied with explanations, and unmoved by the sufferings which he had occasioned, the miscreant threatened the emperor with the loss of his sight, if he did not instantly make an ample confession of what it was his power to disclose. To this savage menace, the afflicted old man replied: "What! will you rob me of those eyes which for the space of sixty years have been incessantly employed in studying the holy Koran?"

Instead of being softened by this touching exclamation, and the heart-rending scene of distress which presented itself both in the palace and the city, the monster poured the most outrageous abuse upon the venerable object whose age alone called for respect, knocked

him down with his own hand; and then kneeling on his breast, struck a poignard into one of his eyes. Having perpetrated this wanton act of barbarity, the butcher turned, and ordered a domestic of the palace to deprive the emperor of the remaining eye; and when the servant refused to obey the injunction, he struck off his head at one stroke of his scimitar. This summary vengeance had its effect upon the next person to whom the same command was given; and the mangled, fainting old man, was then led away to drag out the remainder of a stormy life in sorrow, penury, and darkness.

After completing this atrocious deed, the wretch proceeded to the zenana, that sanctuary which in the east has ever been respected even by the most savage conquerors. Here he commanded the women to deliver up the ornaments that were upon their persons; and, suspecting that they had concealed many of their valuables, he had recourse to art for the purpose of getting possession of them. Affecting somewhat more of courtesy than belonged to his character, he ordered an entertainment for the ladies to be provided, and caused it to be made known to them that those who appeared to be known by their dress should have their liberty. This deception, which could hardly have passed any where else, succeeded with the secluded females who knew nothing of the world, and were anxious to obtain freedom under the distressing circumstances in which they were placed. Arrayed in their finest attire, they were conducted into a large saloon, where, instead of the reception due to their sex and rank, they were rudely deprived of their splendid dresses, and sent back in homely garb to lament their credulity, and vent unavailing execrations upon the crafty tyrant, who, not content with these acts

of rapine, attempted the chastity of one of the young princesses, but was foiled in his brutal purpose by her drawing forth a secreted dagger and plunging it into her bosom. The outrages of this daemon in human form, during the short space of his unbounded sway [illegible] fill a volume, and almost stagger belief; but one of his [illegible] though it marked the singular villainy of his character, could [illegible] viewed without admiration, as an instance of retributive [illegible] Disappointed in his expectation of immense plunder, Gholaum [illegible] turned his resentment upon the treacherous nazir, whose baseness [illegible] was the primary cause of all these horrors. Regardless, how [illegible] his obligations to this faithless servant, the unfeeling tyrant de[illegible] of him the whole of his private property; and upon his [illegible] seized it by force, and then threw the owner into prison. Such [illegible] friendship of the wicked, and the impolicy of avarice, that G[illegible] Caudir, though he knew how much he was indebted to Ismael [illegible] grasped all the spoils, and appropriated it to his own use, which [illegible] his other acts of injustice and violence, provoked that chief [illegible] into a correspondence with Scindiah, who ordered his army [illegible] Ranah Khan to march without delay to the capital. This co[illegible] the Mahratta general very readily obeyed, and with such despatch [illegible] Gholaum Caudir had no idea of his danger till the army appe[illegible] sight of Delhi; on the intelligence of which he quitted the fo[illegible] private passage, and retired to Meerut, taking with him the [illegible] whom he had appointed as the successor of Shah Aulum, and also the nazir, together with some branches of the royal family.

The first care of Ranah Khan on his arrival was to replace the deposed sovereign on his throne, and to provide for the defence of the

city; after which he hastened in pursuit of the rebel chief, who, on his part, was not backward in taking proper measures for his defence in the fort of Meerat. So closely, however, did the Mahrattas beset [illegible]ce, that at length the garrison began to manifest symptoms of [illegible], which induced their leader to attempt his escape. This he [illegible]lished at the head of five hundred horse, with whom he sallied [illegible] the fort, and charged the besiegers with such spirit as to be [illegible] to cut his way through the whole line, notwithstanding every [illegible]hat was made to take him prisoner. But his fortune had now [illegible] desperate; and his followers dropped off so fast, that he was [illegible] left without a single companion.

[illegible]his forlorn state, with a quantity of jewels concealed in his [illegible] he wandered about, till his horse, having become so much [illegible]d as to be incapable of proceeding, fell under him; by which [illegible] the miserable chief received so severe a contusion as to be [illegible] to seek refuge in a village, where, being recognised by the [illegible]ar, he was seized, and kept in confinement till a party of horse [illegible] to conduct him to the Mahratta camp. Here he underwent a [illegible] examination, the purport of which was to discover the plunder [illegible]d been carried off; but though he must have been aware that [illegible]le death awaited him, no threats could prevail upon the infa- [illegible] wretch to make even this atonement for his misdeeds. His [illegible]ment, indeed, was most severe, but not disproportionate to the enormities of which he had been guilty. The Mahratta general caused him to be loaded with irons, and exposed in a cage at the head of the army, from whom he suffered the keenest reproaches for his inhumanity. After thus enduring every insult and indignity

that the soldiers could bestow upon him, his eyes were torn out of their sockets, and his nose, ears, hands, and feet, gradually taken off; in which mutilated condition he was sent towards Delhi; but on the road death released him from his miseries.

The vazir, who was taken at the surrender of Meerat, received the reward of his perfidious conduct in a more summary manner; for on his arrival at the capital, Scindiah, who had resumed the authority at that place, commanded him to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, and trodden to pieces. These acts of justice having been executed, the Mahratta chief appointed a day for the reinthronization of Shah Aulum; which ceremony was performed with great pomp in the grand hall of audience, and excited very affecting emotions in the minds of all who beheld it.

The people of Delhi, during the revolution, were indeed not sensibly touched by the sufferings of their aged monarch; but the armed force, which the usurper threw into the place to carry his diabolical purposes, prevented an insurrection, though it was out of his power to restrain the spirit of popular resentment from venting itself in lamentations and invectives.

It is to be regretted that the English nation should have come in for a share of the reproaches which were uttered on this occasion by the afflicted Delhians, who thought that had our government made the slightest movement in behalf of their deserted and oppressed emperor this sanguinary revolution would not have occurred. That such was the general feeling of the inhabitants, appeared from their language, when some Europeans visited the city about a month afterwards: "Now," exclaimed they, "the English are come to suc-

cour our unfortunate monarch, when his condition is past remedy." Then addressing themselves to the visitors, they added, with peculiar emphasis: "You had better return to your own dominions, since nothing can be done by you to deserve our acknowledgments; for however great may be your wisdom and goodness, it is totally out of your power to restore sight to our distressed sovereign, or to erase the injury that has been inflicted upon his illustrious family."

Among the remarkable incidents which distinguished this tragic history, and gave it the poetic air of romance, that of the blind emperor describing his woes in elegiac strains of Persian measure ought not to pass without notice. When it is considered that the piece was delivered by an enfeebled old man, amidst sufferings almost beyond the endurance of human fortitude, the abrupt irregularity of the composition, and the querulousness of its language, will not lessen the admiration excited by the spirit of piety which breathes throughout the affecting performance.

Of this poem, which produced a lively sensation throughout the east, there have already appeared some translations in English; but being paraphrastic, and in verse, they have necessarily lost in simplicity what they have gained in elegance. The following is a mere literal version, intended to convey the exact sense of the original, without attempting to express the mournful vehemence of the Persian in English numbers.

"The tempest of misfortune has risen and overwhelmed me. It has scattered my glory to the winds, and dispersed my throne in the air. I, who was once the luminary of sovereigns, am now suddenly extinguished in darkness. Fate has deprived me of sight, but it has

also freed me from the dire necessity of beholding another in the possession of my crown. My condition is that of the holy brothers when they were persecuted by Yazud. Calamity was destined for me at my birth. Grandeur and wealth have been my ruin; but, blessed be the Almighty, they are vanished. A young Afghan (Gholaum Cadir) has cut asunder thy progeny, O Timur. Whom have I now to rely upon but the Almighty? My offences have been indeed great, and the punishment which God inflicts is [illegible] yet I will trust in him for pardon. A serpent (the nazir) whom I cherished has deceived me, and stung me to the heart; but he has speedily received his reward. Fifty years have I been providing food for my children; but the fruit of my care is torn from me, and I am become a beggar. Moguls and Afghans have betrayed me: they who were bound by every tie of obedience have turned aside and joined my enemies. They who swore to be faithful, are the first to assist in my ruin. My wives and daughters, beautiful as the angels, have all been taken from me, except the tender Mebaruc Mahul (the queen). The English and Asuf al Dowlah (Vizir of Oude), were my professed friends; but they also have abandoned me in my need. The King of Cabul courts my alliance; let him then hasten to my relief. Madhujee Scindiah is my only hope; and he is ready to aveuge my wrongs. But while I thus lament the defection of princes and people; and while I am sunk in an abyss of darkness, let me be comforted with the assurance that out of this affliction I shall yet arise, purified by misfortune, and illuminated by Providence."

The imperial title was indeed nominally restored in the person of Shah Aulum, but his power was completely annihilated, for Scindiah

assumed the absolute sovereignty; and though nine lacs of rupees were allotted for the yearly support of the royal family, not more than fifty thousand were actually appropriated for that purpose; so that the descendant of Timur, and his immense household, were often in want of the common necessaries of life. In this degraded condition, the aged monarch continued, with increasing infirmities, wants, and indignities, till the battle of Delhi once more turned the tide of fortune in his favour; and he had the satisfaction of experiencing in the liberality of the English government all the enjoyments that could render the evening of his long and troublesome life tranquil and happy.

While the army remained at the capital, every respectful distinction was paid to the imperial line, who witnessed in this conduct of the victors a marked contrast to the insulting domination of their late oppressors. This treatment, which was so different from what they had been accustomed to for several years, made a very sensible impression on the minds of those unfortunate personages, who failed not to express their lively acknowledgments of the advantages which they derived from the change that had taken place. From this time to the death of the emperor, which event took place in December, 1806, at the advanced age of eighty-six, nothing occurred that could disturb his own peace, or distract that of the public. Shah Aulum was succeeded by his son Acbar, who ascended the throne without any molestation, a circumstance unparalleled in the history of Hindoostan.

CHAPTER IV.

Magnificence of Ancient Delhi, and its Vicissitudes.—The Modern City founded by Shah Jehan.—Description of his Palace.—The Dewan Khas, or Hall of Audience.—Account of the Peacock Throne.—The Jumma Masjid, or Great Mosque.—Cruelty of Nadir Shah.—Ruins of Ancient Delhi.—Mausoleum of Humaioon.—Tomb of Jehanara Begum.—Royal Gardens of Shalamir.—Improvements of Delhi.—The Cutab Minar.—Monument of Sufter Jung.—Observatory of Jeyning.—Mode of making Artificial Ice.

In contemplating, with feelings of exultation, the change of circumstances effected by British valour for the emancipation of the imperial dynasty of Hindoostan, a crowd of mixed reflections and emotions could not but press upon the mind of the spectator, while on every side his attention was arrested by decaying monuments of ancient pride and power.

Another revolution had now taken place in the condition of the most renowned city of the eastern world, but happily it was one characterised by the magnanimity of liberators, without any of the insolent rapacity of conquerors, and exhibiting in all points a perfect contrast to the conduct of former victors, whose vestiges were marked by spoliation and massacre.

No capital in the world has probably undergone more vicissitudes than Delhi, from the time of its founder, Delu, whose name it retains, and who lived about seven hundred years before the christian era, to the close of the ill-fated reign of Shah Aulum, with whom its independence may be said to have terminated. After making every

allowance for the extravagance of oriental description, and abating largely from the lofty accounts that have been given by historians and travellers, enough remains to convince the most incredulous, that this city, at the height of its prosperity, has never been surpassed in wealth and splendour. Such, indeed, was the attraction of its riches, as the metropolis of a country which has ever excited universal admiration, that to this cause alone may be ascribed the various ravages that have rendered it so remarkable in the annals of conquest; and which, at length, have caused it to dwindle gradually in magnitude and population; so that instead of covering an extent of twenty miles, and comprehending two millions of souls, it has shrunk to a space of seven miles, and about five hundred thousand inhabitants.

Of the magnificence of ancient Delhi, such as it was before the Tartarian hordes despoiled it by successive irruptions after the great invasion of Taimur, no other idea can be formed than from the multiplicity of the ruins which lie scattered over an immense plain; but the modern city still presents the most stately memorials of the grandeur of the Moguls, and particularly of the taste of its founder, Shah Jehan. Emulous of the example of his father, Jehanguire, who repaired Lahore, and of his grandfather, Akbar, who rebuilt Agra, to which he gave his own name, Shah Jehan formed the design of restoring the ancient capital of Hindoostan to a degree of splendour surpassing its former glory, and worthy of bearing the appellation of Shah Jehanabad. This resolution he carried into effect about the year 1632, when a new city arose on the western banks of the Jumna, inferior only to old Delhi in the area which it occupied, and totally eclipsing it in elegant structures, and the profusion of expense

lavished upon the undertaking. It is about seven miles in circumference, and enclosed by a wall of brick and stone, with seven gateways, bearing the names of Lahore, Ajmeer, Turkeman, Delhi, Moor, Cabul, and Cashmere, all of which are built of red free stone, with handsome arched entrances, where the guard of the city keep watch. As the founder intended this place for his capital and residence during the remainder of his reign, he erected at the north end of the city a superb palace, surrounded on three sides by a lofty wall of red free stone, and a deep ditch measuring about a mile in circumference. The east side of this building, facing the Jumna, was formerly washed by that river; but of late years, as if to indicate the fluctuating instability of human greatness, the stream has receded from the mouldering walls, so as no longer to reflect on its pellucid bosom the faded glory of the house of Timur. On entering this palace, the first object that attracts attention is the Dewan Aum, or place of public audience, where all descriptions of persons were formerly admitted to prefer their petitions or complaints; and though the building is gone to decay, it has still a noble appearance. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, round which are rows of apartments two stories high, which, in the days of the Mogul prosperity, were occupied by the nobles of the court, and highly ornamented with the richest tapestry of velvets and silks. Another gateway leads to a similar square, at the farther end of which is the Dewan Khoss, or the place of audience peculiarly set apart for the nobility. This building, which is of white marble, and elevated on a terrace of the same material about four feet in height, is one hundred and fifty feet in length, by forty in breadth. The roof, which is flat, and sur-

mounted with four pavilions, or cupolas, is supported by a number of columns, all like the latter, of white marble, and inlaid with flowers, constructed of the most beautiful and costly precious stones. Round the cornice, in the interior of the Dewan Khoss, the following proud inscription is engraved in letters of gold: "if there be a paradise upon earth, this is it; 'tis this! 'tis this!"

Such was the harmless vanity of the monarch, who, in these works, thought to perpetuate his fame for the admiration and envy of distant ages; and yet, after the lapse of a few generations only, the solitary wanderer, amidst these remains of pomp and luxury, contemplates undisturbed the folly of man in labouring to immortalize his name, by the construction of splendid edifices and the foundation of extensive cities.

In this hall of audience was the famous Tukt Taous, or peacock throne, which, on all accounts, was one of the most superb works ever formed for the gratification of human pride. Shah Jehan had, from his earliest years, a fine taste for the ornamental arts, of which he gave a specimen in the reign of his father, Jehanguire, by causing a sumptuous throne to be constructed out of the spoils of plundered provinces, and ornamented with an immense number of precious jewels. But when he succeeded to the empire, and had completed his new city, he set about another throne, still more costly and magnificent in the materials, and original in the design. The body was formed of solid gold, incrusted with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. This extraordinary piece of workmanship, which, in finishing, and the expense of the jewels alone, cost twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, was called, by way of distinction,

the peacock throne, on account of its having the figures of two peacocks standing behind it, their tails expanded, and studded over with various precious stones to represent the life. Between these peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald; but the finest jewel of all was a ruby which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he captured and plundered Delhi in the year 1398.

Shah Jehan was enabled to complete this sumptuous article by the successes of his son, Aurungzebe, who, after overcoming the Rajah of Bundelcund, found in the vaults of his palace an enormous accumulation of gold and jewels, which he laid at the feet of his transported father, and thus supplied him with the means of gratifying his ruling passion. Such is the account given by the modern historians of Hindoostan; but it is observable that Tavernier, who visited the court of Shah Jehan about twenty years after the completion of this pageant, describes it much more perspicuously, and with some very material variations.

"The great Mogul," says this intelligent traveller, "has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds, others with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. This (the PEACOCK), which is the largest throne, is in form like one of our field beds, six feet long, and four broad. The cushion at the back is round like a bolster: but the cushions on the sides are flat. I counted about one hundred and eight pale rubies in collets upon this throne, the least weighing one hundred carats; but there are some that weigh two hundred. Of emeralds I counted about one hundred and forty, weighing some three score, and some thirty carats. The under part of the canopy is embroidered all over with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of pearls surrounding the whole.

Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch, with four panes, stands a peacock, having his tail spread out, consisting entirely of sapphires and other stones of appropriate colours. The body is of beaten gold enchased with several jewels, and a great ruby upon the breast, to which hangs a pearl that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays, as high as the bird, consisting of various sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enamelled. When the king seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant of eighty or ninety carats weight, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung as to be always in his sight. The twelve pillars also that support the canopy are set with rows of fine round pearls, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats a-piece. At the distance of four feet on each side of the throne are placed two umbrellas, the handles of which are about eight feet high, covered with diamonds; the umbrellas themselves, which are of crimson velvet, being embroidered and fringed with pearls."

Some Mohammedans affirm that this throne was intended as a companion in elegance and expense to the famous Tauje Mahul at Agra, on each of which, they say, were to have been laid out nine crore nine lacs, nine thousand nine hundred and nine rupees - the number nine in oriental superstition being supposed to possess extraordinary magical virtues, a story which almost staggers belief, when it is considered that a crore is one hundred lacs, and one lac amounts to one hundred thousand rupees, so that the whole must have been equivalent to many millions of pounds sterling.

It may reasonably be supposed that the other parts of this imperial residence were in exact unison with those which have been here describ-

ed; but such is the fragile tenure of human excellence, the whole, after being ravaged by successive plunderers, particularly Nadir Shah, have fallen to decay, through neglect, and the silent operations of that ruthless power, which, in its progress, stamps vanity upon all the contrivances of genius, to render immortal the works of ambition. Even the extensive gardens, splendid pavilions, elegant mosques, and marble baths, which were appended to the palace of Shajhenabad, have partaken of the fallen fortunes of the Moguls.

In the royal gardens is an octagon building of the nature of a pleasure-house, and consisting of a single room at the top, overlooking the Jumna. From the window of this structure, which is called the Shah Boorj, or royal tower, the heir apparent, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, effected his escape by a ladder made of turbans, in the year 1784, when he sought the protection of the British government, and found an asylum at Lucknow.

On the north of the palace, to which it communicates by a stone bridge, stands the fort of Selimgur, or rather the ruins of it, having been suffered to fall to decay since the revolution of 1788, when Gholaum Caudir made his escape from it through a sally port, with all his followers; and thus, for the time, eluded the vengeance of the Mahrattas, who closely invested the place. Besides the imperial palace of Shah Jehan, there are in Delhi the remains of many other magnificent mansions, which belonged to the great omrahs of the empire, and who vied with each other in courting their sovereign's favour by erecting superb edifices to do honour to the city of his foundation. All these noble buildings are surrounded with lofty walls, within the enclosure of which are spacious gardens, elegant baths, stables, and music galleries, with numerous zenanas, which

were once occupied by the most beautiful women of Cashmere and Circassia.

Nearly in the centre of the town stands the Jumma Musjid, or great mosque, which was also built by Shah Jehan, from whose palace gate there is a paved road, on a gentle acclivity, about a quarter of a mile in length. At the end of this road is a grand flight of stone steps, extending the whole front of the mosque, the entrance to which is by a handsome gateway of red stone, inlaid with slabs of marble. On the gate, which is very large, heavy, and covered with brass, is a work in mosaic, intersected by rows of neat brass nails; over which is a tablet of beautiful marble, with an inscription in Persian. This gate opens into a large square court, paved with fine flat stones, and having in the middle a marble reservoir of water, for the use of the pious Mussulmans, who may resort hither at the hours of prayer. Fronting this is the mosque itself, which is of an oblong form, in length about two hundred and sixty feet, by one hundred and twenty in breadth, with three arches, surmounted by as many superb domes of white marble, inlaid with stripes of black marble, and having a spire on the top of each, covered with copper, richly gilt. The entire front of the building is faced with beautiful white marble; and the cornice exhibits in mosaic work the whole of the Koran, curiously inlaid with black marble. The interior of the mosque is paved with white marble, round which runs a black border that produces a very fine effect. The walls and roof are faced with plain white marble, and near the Kebla, or that part which looks towards Mecca, is an alter of the same, with three steps, richly adorned with frieze work, round the top and sides; the whole of which appears to be cut out of one block, about four feet high and six in length.

The mosque is flanked by two lofty minarets, or round towers, composed of black marble and red stone placed alternately. These minarets have each three projecting galleries of white marble, and the summits are crowned with light octagonal pavilions of the same material, to which there is an ascent by a winding staircase of one hundred and thirty steps of red stone, each about twelve inches in height. From this eminence a most extensive and variegated prospect extends itself to the sight, taking in the numerous ruins in the vicinity of Delhi, and stretching beyond the Jumna to the fort of Lodi.

The terrace on which this magnificent structure stands is surrounded by an arched colonnade of red free-stone, ornamented with octagonal pavilions at convenient distances, in which visitors and devotees may seat themselves after contemplating the several parts of an edifice, which, in size and beauty, corresponds with the magnificence of Delhi, in the time of its munificent restorer, or rather founder.

There are several other mosques in this great capital, but none worthy of particular notice except that of Roshun al Dowlah, near the palace, and situated in the finest street of the city, or the Chandnee Choke, through which runs an aqueduct. This mosque is marked in the history of Delhi by the circumstance that it was the place where Nadir Shah sat as the minister of death, dealing out destruction upon the miserable inhabitants of this devoted city.

When that ferocious tyrant gained possession of the place, he set guards upon all the gates, with strict orders that no person should pass in or out without his special license. The motive for this injunction

was to prevent any of the inhabitants from carrying away their riches: for at the same time he exacted twenty-five crores, or about thirty millions sterling, as the condition for sparing the city. While the magistrates were busily employed in devising the means for raising this contribution, the people began to suffer dreadfully from famine, which was, indeed, no more than a natural consequence of the measure adopted to prevent their egress, as it cut off all communication with the country.

In this state of things, Nadir, with his accustomed avarice, ordered the granaries to be opened, and rice to be sold at a certain price, which occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public bazars, particularly in the royal market; where a Persian soldier, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized his basket. The fellow, upon this, made a great outcry, and exclaimed that the conqueror had ordered a general pillage. This trifling incident produced the most serious effects; for the populace, already goaded by resentment, and rendered desperate by want, collected in great numbers, vociferating that Nadir Shah was dead, and that it was time to drive the Persians out of the city. Conflicts [illegible] quarter, and many lives were lost on both sides; the [illegible] did not reach Nadir till about midnight, when, ordering [illegible], he marched at their head as far as the Musjid of [illegible]h, where he halted till the morning; and in the [illegible] the Mogul officers of state, whom he threatened [illegible] death, as the authors of these tumults; but upon the attestation of their innocence, he was prevailed upon to revoke this sentence. A more sanguinary one, however, followed at day-light, when some person fired from a neighbouring terrace upon

Nadir Shah, and killed an officer by his side. This rash act so enraged the Persian, that, though the confusion had nearly subsided, he immediately ordered the cavalry to scour the city, and to commence a general massacre---a mandate, which, from the irritated state of the soldiery, was not more quickly issued than vigorously executed; so that by about noon above one hundred thousand persons lay weltering in their blood, without any distinction of age, sex, or condition.

But the work of destruction was not confined to the sword alone, for thousands threw themselves into wells, and were drowned; while many of the Hindoos, in a fit of desperate frenzy, shut up their families, set fire to the houses, and then threw themselves into the flames, to perish with their wives and children. Amidst these scenes of horror, Nadir Shah sat in the mosque with so much of the demoniacal character impressed upon his dark and terrible countenance as to appal all from approaching him, except the slaves who were necessarily about his person. At length, however, the afflicted emperor Mahmood, attended by his principal nobles, ventured into the presence of the tyrant with downcast looks, for the purpose of staying his fury by supplication. The Omrahs who preceded their sovereign, having prostrated themselves on the ground, were sternly asked what they wanted; upon which they cried out with one voice, "Spare the city!"

The poor emperor himself said not a word, but his streaming eyes sufficiently expressed the feelings of his heart; and the conqueror for once, being touched with pity, sheathed his sword, and said: "For the sake of Prince Mahmood, I forgive!"

Leaving this mosque, which brings by association such painful recollections to the mind, our attention is next drawn to another of a different description on the bank of the Jumna, called Zeenut al Musajid, or the ornament of mosques. This religious edifice was erected by Zeenut al Nissah, a daughter of Aurungzebe, who, having professed a life of celibacy, laid out a large sum in this building, to which she added a small sepulchre of white marble, surrounded by a wall of the same material, in which she was buried in 1710.

Among the ruins of old Delhi, and about a mile to the south of the modern city, the chief objects of notice are the ancient fort, palace, and mosque, of the Patan emperor, Feroze the First. These remains are of considerable extent, and the walls of an immense thickness; but as their decay is rapid, no long time will have elapsed before they will only be distinguished by their scattered fragments. The form of the fort is that of a parallelopipedon, with circular bastions at each angle, and a gateway in the centre at each end, defended by two round towers pierced with loopholes, the height of the walls being about sixty feet. Towards the centre of the place, on the top of a large stone terrace, is a column of brown granite, with an inscription of very ancient character. Close to this pillar, which is called by the natives Feroze Cotelab, or the staff of Feroze, are the ruins of a large mosque, of which Timur took a model, and afterwards built a magnificent temple on the same plan at Samarcand. From a window of this mosque the body of Alumgheer the Second, father of Shah Aulum, was thrown, after being decoyed hither and assassinated by his treacherous vizir.

Among the reliques of ancient Delhi, those of the monumental

description are most deserving of notice, particularly the mausoleum erected to the memory of Humaioon, or Imaum Shah, the father of Akbar. It is a fine, lofty building, in good preservation, surmounted by a stupendous dome of white marble, the exterior of which is encircled by a terrace, from whence there is a most extensive view. Beneath the dome is a large square room, having latticed windows on each side, and a marble pavement, with walls of red stone inlaid with long, narrow slips of marble. Here, beneath a simple unadorned tomb of white marble, repose the ashes of Humaioon; while at a little distance from hence, in a smaller room, lie the remains of his two wives and infant child, with a marble tomb over each, but without any inscription. Adjoining to this are other apartments for the family of Timur, this being the general dormitory of that illustrious house. This mausoleum, which is enclosed by a high wall, was built by Akbar, and served as a model to his grandson, when designing the famous Tauje Mahal, but the copy infinitely surpasses the original. Passing the small but splendid tomb of Nizam ud Deen, which stands at a short distance from that of Humaioon, as well as several others of still inferior consideration, it would be unpardonable to omit paying some respect to the sepulchral tenement of Jehanarah Begum, the eldest daughter of the emperor Shah Jehan, by his beloved sultana, in honour of whose memory was erected the most splendid sepulchral monument of elegance and affection, the Tauje Mahal at Agra. But whatever may be the claims of that magnificent mausoleum to admiration, this humble tomb is no less deserving of respect, on account of the virtues of her whose ashes are here inhumed. The princess Jehanarah, in the brilliant period of her

father's reign, was celebrated throughout the east for her wit and personal charms; but her name stands recorded in history with indelible glory as a memorable example of filial attachment, and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty. While her sister, Roxanara, became an instrument in aiding the ambitious projects and parricidical designs of her brother, Auruogzebe, to whom she communicated those secrets of the palace which enabled him to dethrone his father, the amiable and accomplished Jehanarah supported her aged parent in his affliction, and voluntarily surrendered her liberty, to reside with him in the castle of Agra, where she remained ten years, and died soon after him, not without suspicion of poison. The tomb of this excellent woman is of white marble, open at the top; and at the head of the grave is a tablet of the same, with a Persian inscription in black letters, to this effect:

"Let no one scatter over my grave any thing but earth and verdure, for such best becomes the sepulchre of one who had a humble mind." On the margin is the following: "the perishable Fakeer, Jehanarah Begum, daughter of Shah Jehan, and the disciple of the saints of Cheesty, in the year of the Hejira, 1094."

In quitting these last receptacles of pomp and beauty, for the royal gardens of Shalimar, the transition is not only agreeable, but natural, since while both conspire to raise our admiration of the former greatness of the Mogul empire, they, at the same time, create the most sombrous reflections upon the rapidity of its decay. These gardens were laid out by the emperor Shah Jehan, in the fourth year of his reign, and are said to have cost near a million sterling, though certainly the state in which they now appear by no means tends to

confirm the belief that the estimate is correct. Many of the most costly materials, indeed, have been taken away; and no doubt great expenses were incurred for ornamental works, of which no traces remain: still, considering the limited extent of the enclosure, which does not exceed a mile in circumference, it seems hardly credible, that near two centuries ago, and in a country where the luxuriances of nature are abundant, so much should have been expended upon ground that cost little, and in labour which might be commanded. But though in this, as in other cases, oriental calculation has most probably exaggerated to a great degree, enough appears to shew the judgment and magnificence of Shah Jehan, who evinced, in the construction of these gardens, the same taste for picturesque beauty and sublimity as he did genius in building and other works of art. Here every provision was made to render seclusion pleasant, to gratify the senses, to soften the cares of royalty, and to beguile the tedium of life. Pavilions, pleasure-houses, and baths, invited to refreshment and repose, while grottoes and groves afforded ample protection from the intensity of the solar heat, by the side of canals and fountains stocked with gold and silver fish. But the gardens of Shalimar, like all the imperial works about Delhi, have long since exhibited a melancholy picture of the fallen state of the race of Timur; a striking emblem of which may be seen in many very large trees, whose venerable trunks and decayed branches, while they bring under review the days of former splendour, impress also upon the mind an affecting sense of the mutability of fortune.

These gardens of late years have been converted by the British resident at the court of Delhi into a country-seat for himself: and

here it merits observation, that when this ancient capital came into our possession, the beneficial effects of the change were almost instantaneously perceived in the alterations and improvements that took place under the judicious direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, to whom the care of the city was committed by the commander-in-chief. So well did that able officer discharge this important trust, that on the return of our army from the banks of the Hyphasis, in 1806, every one was agreeably surprised at the different appearance which the new town of Delhi had assumed in our absence. In the principal streets, rows of trees were planted, a convenience, which, in such a climate, contributes so much to the health and comfort, that it may well excite astonishment how it could ever have been omitted. The streets of Delhi, however, as in most eastern cities, are extremely narrow, thereby preventing a free circulation of air, under the preposterous idea of keeping out the oppressive heat of the sun; but some, particularly the Chandnee Choke, or high street, were now widened considerably, by pulling down the old houses, and building new ones upon a better plan, and on a direct line.

This last-mentioned street, through which runs a canal, shaded on each side by a row of trees, is inhabited solely by opulent merchants; and, indeed, all trades have appropriate streets, a regulation that tends equally to preserve order and cleanliness in this extensive city.

One of the most remarkable objects in the vicinity of Delhi is the Cutab Minar, which, at our return to that city, a party of us went to visit; and having sent our tents forward to Sufter Jung's superb mausoleum, about nine miles from the British camp, we rested there for the night. At the dawn of day we continued our

route to the south-west about five miles farther to the village of Cutab, where this extraordinary pillar is situated, and which, in height, surpasses the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus at Rome, that of Theodosius at Constantinople, and the monument in London; the loftiest of the former, the Antonine, being only one hundred and seventy-two feet, six inches, and twelve feet three inches in diameter; and the height of the English monument, two hundred and two feet from the pavement, while the Cutab Minar measures two hundred and forty-two feet six inches, the base being a polygon of twenty-seven sides, upon which it rises in a circular form with a finely proportioned diminution to the top. This lofty column is built of an exceeding fine red granite, fluted all round into twenty-seven semicircular and angular divisions, in which are inscribed various passages of the Koran, so admirably carved in Arabic, as to have resisted the ravages of time, and the action of the elements, near six hundred years. There are four projecting galleries, supported upon large stone [illegible] the height of ninety feet, the second at one [illegible] the third at one hundred and eighty, at which [illegible]g ends, and the fourth at the height of two [illegible] feet, from whence the remainder of the pillar, [illegible]ne white marble, rises with an even surface and [illegible]; the summit terminating in a majestic cupola of [illegible]hin this structure, a spiral staircase leads to the top; [illegible]tured to ascend within twenty feet of it the steps [illegible] ruinous state, and the building, at this height, so far [illegible]ender further curiosity dangerous. Having, therefore, [illegible]d three hundred and forty-five steps, it was thought

adviseable to descend, especially as the prospect around afforded nothing peculiarly inviting to repay the labour and hazard of climbing an ascent rendered difficult by its having been struck by lightning, and shaken by the earthquake which occurred in September, 1803.

This minaret was built by Cuttab ud Deen, the slave of Mohammed of Gaur, with whose consent he settled at Delhi, where he founded the first Affghan dynasty in the year 1193.

This pillar, and another, which was carried to the height of sixty feet, were intended for the entrance of a grand mosque, of which many parts, and some entire arches, are yet discernible. The w[illegible]e was begun upon the ruins of an Hindoo temple; and the design of the founder, whose own tomb still remains not far from hence, was to erect a monument to commemorate the triumph of Islamism over the religion of Bramha. There is also a remarkable pillar, sixty feet high, near the former, made of iron, in one piece, on the upper part of which the impression of a cannon ball, which must have struck it with prodigious force, is clearly perceptible.

At this village are deposited the remains of [illegible] Aulum; and it reflects credit upon the feelings [illegible] reigning emperor, that he has made this his favourite [illegible] in veneration of his father's memory. In consequ[illegible] ment to the place on the part of their sovereign, seve[illegible] omrahs of the empire have also erected here agreeab[illegible] may be in attendance when he resides here.

From this pleasant excursion, we returned to take [illegible] the mausoleum of Sufter Jung, which is one of the [illegible] monuments about Delhi, and nearly resembles that [illegible],

though upon a smaller scale, and not so highly ornamented. The entrance has a noble appearance; and on ascending a flight of stairs, two elegant rooms, painted in mosaic, present themselves for the convenience of those who visit the place for curiosity or devotion.

In our way back to the camp, we stopped to view the celebrated observatory called the Gentur Mantur, erected in the third year of the reign of Mohammed Shah, or 1724, by the famous astronomer, Jeysing, or Jayasinha, Rajah of Ambhere, and founder of the principality of Jeypoor. This monument of oriental munificence and science, is situated without the walls of the city, near two miles from the Jumma Masjid; but the work was never completed, on account of the death of the projector, and the subsequent confusions of the empire. The observatory was, however, sufficiently advanced to mark the astronomical skill and accuracy of the prince by whom it was designed, though it has suffered severely from the ravages of the Jauts, who, not content with carrying off all the valuable materials which were portable, committed many wanton excesses upon the finest parts of the edifice. The great equatorial dial is still nearly perfect, but the gnomon and the periphery of the circle on which the degrees are marked have been injured in several parts. The length of this gnomon is one hundred and eighteen feet seven inches; the base one hundred and four feet one inch; and the perpendicular fifty-six feet nine inches. A flight of stone steps leads up to the top of the gnomon, the edges of which, as well as the arches, were of white marble.

Besides this stupendous instrument, which, on account of its magnitude and accuracy, was denominated by Jeysing himself

the semrat yunter, or "the prince of dials," there are two others of a similar construction and materials, but on a smaller scale. The three gnomons are connected by a wall, on which is described a graduated semicircle for measuring the altitudes of objects lying due east or west from hence.

In a southerly direction from the great equatorial dial are two buildings exactly alike, and adapted for the same purpose, which was that of observing the altitude and azimuths of the stars. It is evident that these duplicate structures were designed to prevent errors, by obtaining different observations at the same time, and comparing the results. These last buildings, which are of a circular form, and open at the top, have each of them a pillar of the same height in the centre, from whence proceed horizontally at about three feet from the bottom thirty radii of stone to the circumference. The intermediate spaces are equal to the radii, so that each of these, with the space between, forms together a complete sector of six degrees. Within side of the wall are recesses, on the edges of which are marked the tangents of the degrees of the sun's altitude, as exhibited by the shadow of the perpendicular stile in the centre, and numbered from one degree to forty-five; but when the sun exceeds that height the degrees are marked on the radii, numbered from the pillar in such a manner as to note exactly the complement of the altitude. These degrees are even subdivided into minutes; but the opposite spaces in the wall, which are divided into six equal parts or degrees, have no subdivisions. By observing on which of these the shadow of the pillar falls, the sun's azimuth may be ascertained at once; and in the same manner may the lunar altitudes and azimuths be determined, as

well as those of any star that comes upon the meridian. Between these buildings and the great equatorial dial is a concave of stone-work, representing the celestial hemisphere, twenty-seven feet five inches in diameter. It is divided by six lines of masonry, at the distance of fifteen degrees from each other, and intended as delineations of so many meridians.

The construction of this astronomical apparatus evinces uncommon zeal for a favourite science, and no less patience and industry in the labour requisite for the perfection of the plan. But, perhaps, the most extraordinary circumstance of all is the fact, that though one such undertaking may well be supposed sufficient to have occupied the best part of a man's life, and to have immortalized his name, this enlightened prince actually erected four other observatories of a similar description at Suraj Jeypoor, Mutra, Benares, and Ougein, besides calculating with prodigious labour and expense a set of astronomical tables, which he completed in 1728, and entituled, in honour of the Emperor, his patron, Zeej Mohammedshassy. In the preface to this curious and erudite performance, he gives an account of the permanent instruments which had been erected under his directions; assigning as a reason for adopting the solid materials of lime and stone, that these were more durable in themselves, and more capable of being exactly adjusted to the meridian and latitude of the place than portable equatorials, spheres, and quadrants made of brass, the circles and axes of which are liable to be injured by friction and accidents, so as to render observations made with them very uncertain.

Not far from hence a large space is appropriated to the artificial preparation of ice, which is effected by a very simple process. The

surface of the ground, which here is strongly impregnated with saltpetre, being scraped or dug to a moderate depth, the earth so removed is carefully made into round shallow pans, which are filled with water; while over the part that has been excavated are spread out extensive layers of split bamboos or hurdles, covered with straw. Upon these layers the pans are placed in rows, and left exposed all night to the action of the air, which penetrates the porous vessels in such a manner, that the water is found next morning perfectly congealed, when the pans are broken, and the ice is collected before sun-rise into pits dug on the spot, from whence it is carried for use to Delhi. In this manner may an article be obtained all the year, and with little expense, which in this country is a great luxury, particularly for cooling wines. At the cantonment of Cawnpore we were supplied with ice so prepared from Lucknow, though at the distance of near fifty miles, in the midst of the hot winds, and when the thermometer ranged from 100 to 130 degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade.

CHAPTER V.

March of the Army.—Junction at Mutra with Colonel Vandeleur.—Bindrabund —Degrading Superstition.—Treaty with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor.—Attack upon Agra.—Overtures of Capitulation.—Rupture of the Negotiation.—Surrender of the Fortress.—Dimensions of the great Gun at Agra.—Claim of General Perron to public Property.—Extent of modern Agra.—Its ancient Splendour.—The Fort of Akbarabad.—Palace of Akbar.—Description of the Tanje Mahal.—Historical Sketches of Shah Jehan and his Family.

HAVING made the necessary arrangements for his march from Delhi, the commander-in-chief moved from thence towards Agra on the twenty-fourth of September. Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, deputy adjutant-general of the Company's troops, was appointed resident at the court of Delhi, where a garrison was left, consisting of one battalion and four companies of native infantry, besides a corps of Mewatties, then raising under the command of British officers who had been in the employ of Scindiah, but which service, on the commencement of hostilities with that chieftain, they had quitted, to join the army under General Lake.

The captured guns and heavy metal intended for the siege of Agra were conveyed in boats down the Jumna, while the army, proceeding along the western bank of that river, encamped, after a march of twelve miles, at Ferodabad, a walled town, and noted for the manufacture of bows and arrows.

In passing, on the twenty-fifth, the fort of the Rajah of Ballinghur, the army was saluted by eleven guns; and the same day Vakeels

arrived from the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, a powerful chief of the Jauts, soliciting the friendship and protection of the British government upon the basis of a treaty, which was readily acceded to, and carried into effect on both sides, though at a subsequent period the conduct of this chief exhibited the same duplicity that forms the distinguishing feature of the Indian character.

On the second of October the army arrived at Mutra, where it found the detachment under Colonel Vandeleur, which had crossed the Jumna at this place two days before. Here Colonel Dudernaigue, and two other officers, named Smith and Lapenet, who had been detached with some regular battalions by Scindiah, in the month of July, from the Deccan, to reinforce General Perron in Hindoostan, surrendered themselves prisoners of war to Colonel Vandeleur.

Mutra, or Mathura, the antient Methora of Pliny, is still a very large town, extremely well built, on the western shore of the Jumna, into whose sacred waters descend gauts, or extensive flights of stone steps, ornamented with little temples, which every morning and evening are crowded with devotees of both sexes and all ages, to perform their ablutions and religious exercises. This town is held in as much veneration among the Hindoos, on account of its being the supposed birth-place of their favourite deity, Kreeshan, as Mecca with the zealous Mussulmans for its relation to the early history of their prophet.

The reverence paid to this city induced our commander, with the wonted urbanity of his character, and the tolerant spirit of the British nation, to issue orders, expressing regret that the service would not allow the native soldiers to tarry for the performance of their

tional exercises; but to accommodate them as far as possible, Excellency directed the commanding officers of these corps to ermit their men to visit Bindrabund, under the condition that they should return before sun-set. In this conduct, the mild and liberal temper of Christianity appeared to exhibit a luminous contrast to the dark and ferocious bigotry of Islamism: for when the emperor Mahmoud took this place in the year 1018, he razed it to the foundation, besides committing horrible ravages, merely out of zeal against idolatry. Mutra was afterwards rebuilt and ornamented with veral magnificent temples, the most splendid of which was destroyed y Aurungzebe, who employed the materials in the erection of an elegant mosque upon the same spot. So late again as 1756 this city experienced the severity of another Mohammedan despot, Ahmed Shah Abdalli, who plundered the place, and massacred thousands of the inhabitants. At length, Mutra came under the dominion of cindiah, by whom it was assigned to General Perron as part of his yedad, or jaghire, for the payment of his forces; and here that officer established his principal cannon foundry.

At a short distance from hence is BINDRABUND, or Vindravana, a own of equal sanctity with the other in the estimation of the pious Hindoos, who resort hither from the remotest parts of India to make heir offerings, and lave in the holy stream, on whose banks the prin- pal object of their worship is said to have first appeared in human . Though there are numerous pagodas at this place, not of are deserving of particular notice, either as monuments of itecture, taste, or pious munificence. The name of this town is ived from groves of trees, among which it is in a manner embo-

somed, and which are the residence of innumerable apes, w propensity to mischief is increased by the religious respect paid them in honour of Hunaman, a divinity of the Hindu mythology, wherein he is characterized under that form. In consequence of this degrading superstition, vast numbers of these animals, some of which are of very large size, are here supported by the voluntary contributions of pilgrims; and in such reverence are they held, that no one dares to resist or illtreat them, when they commit the most flagrant acts of outrage upon casual passengers, or even in the dwellings of the inhabitants. Hence, access to the town is often difficult; for shou any of the apes take up an antipathy against the unlucky traveller he is sure to be assailed by the whole community, who follow him with all the missile weapons they can collect, as pieces of bamboo, stones, and dirt, making at the same time a most hideous howling. All this, however, must be borne with perfect passive obedience; for otherwise the slightest attempt at retaliation would only provoke fresh insults from these malignant animals, and bring to their aid the interested Fakeers and infatuated devotees, by whom they are so preposterously cherished. Of the danger attending a rencontre with enemies of this description, a melancholy instance occurred in the year 1808, when two young cavalry officers, belonging to the Bengal army, having occasion to pass this way, were attacked by the apes at whom one of the gentlemen inadvertently fired, the alarm of which drew the whole body of Fakeers and their followers out of the pl with so much fury, that the officers, though mounted upon elepha were compelled to seek their safety by endeavouring to cross Jumna, in which attempt they both perished.

ight have been expected that an event so completely marking pestiferous nature of a superstition, which estimates the life of man below that of the worst species of the brute creation, would have been followed by some energetic measures on the part of the British government, as well for the correction of an infamous depravity, as for the satisfaction of injured humanity. Instead of this, the only reparation made for the murderous transaction, in which two valuable lives were sacrificed for a monkey, was that of depriving the people of Bindrabund of some of their lands; thus leaving it in the option of the sanguinary zealots to perpetrate similar outrages against any unfortunate European whom chance may hereafter bring into their district, without being aware of the risk he runs by acting in his own ... nce. Though the dreams of superstition have some claim ... ligence; and though long established usages arising out of the ... not to be treated with rudeness; yet, when, as in this case, they ... injurious to the rest of mankind, so as to render it hazardous for the most innocent to pass along in the discharge of duty, or the pursuit of pleasure, common justice would dictate the eradication of an evil which ought not to be tolerated, even under a free government. The moral and religious improvement of British India has occupied, of late years, much of the public attention, both in Europe and the ast. It is, indeed, a subject well deserving of the most serious and nstant investigation; but while, on the one hand, the greatest ation should be observed, not to inflame the prejudices, and awaken e jealousies of the natives, in our endeavours for their mental emanpation, it behoves us, on the other hand, to convince them of the enormous obligations of social duty, and to make them sensible,

that whoever, whether it be a community or an individual, sha
sume to violate the primary laws of nature, on which the well-b
of society depends, must expect to meet with a judgment due to the
offence. The importance of legislation must be duly felt, and the
principle of obedience generally understood, before the refinements of
civilization can take place of the remains of ancient barbarism, or the
doctrines of christianity be substituted for the debasing extravagancies
of Bramha. In short, till the people of India are indiscriminately
made to respect the divine image, and to recognize the immutable ties
by which mankind are held together, under the great lawgiver of the
universe, it will be in vain to seek by other means to elevate thei
character, or to change their manners. To do this, no opportun
should be omitted of impressing upon their minds a dread of d
evil to their fellow-creatures, under any pretext whatever, lest
flagitious act be immediately followed by that vengeance wh
offended justice requires, and an equitable government is bound
inflict.

This digression, it is hoped, will neither be considered as irre-
levant nor unnecessary, since it arose from recollections of what the
writer has himself experienced, and the relation of a catastroph
which must ever kindle emotions of indignant regret in the bosoms o
those who read the story, and find that the murder of gallant a
unoffending young men, who might have lived to be the ornament
their country, should have been commuted by pecuniary mulcts a
confiscation, instead of being avenged as the atrocity of the offen
demanded.

On the third of October, the army, having pursued its marc

about half way between Mutra and Agra; and the nex
ther passing close to the tomb of Akbar, arrived at the encamp
-ground about two o'clock in the afternoon. In this route, th
ort of Akbarabad saluted us with several shot, but being at a consi
derable distance none of them did any injury. On the seventh, th
infantry having taken up a new position, were followed by the cavalr
the day following; the whole surrounding, as much as possible
the fort and town of Agra, thereby cutting off all communica
tion with the adjacent country. On the ninth, the commander-in
chief concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Rajah o
Bhurtpoor, who was the first chief, as already observed, that solici
our protection during these operations. By this agreement, it w
settled that the rajah's territory should be respected by the Briti
government, and declared free from all imposts; in return for whi
the rajah agreed to furnish the English with troops, in case of the
territories being invaded; while, in like manner, the Company engage
to defend his estates. Pursuant to this covenant, the Rajah o
Bhurtpoor, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, sent
body of five thousand cavalry to co-operate with our army before Agr

General Lake, on his arrival, had sent a summons to the fort, bu
no answer was returned, owing, as it afterwards appeared, to the con
fusion which prevailed among the garrison, who conceived so muc
jealousy of their European officers as to place them in confinement
In the mean time, however, measures were adopted for a vigorou
defence, and seven battalions of the enemy's regular infantry, with
-siderable number of guns, were encamped on the glacis, and occu
d the town, with the principal mosque, as well as the ravines sur

rounding the south and south-west faces of the fort. From a tion it was necessary to dislodge them, before our approaches co carried on; and, therefore, on the morning of the tenth, the co. mander-in-chief ordered Brigadier-General Clarke, with his brigade consisting of the first battalion of the twelfth, second battalion of the ninth, and six companies of the sixteenth regiment of native infantry, who were encamped in the rear of the town, to take possession of it, whilst three battalions of sepoys, first battalion of the fourteenth regiment, and the first and second battalions of the fifteenth regiment of native infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cullock, Major Haldane, and Captain Worsley, advanced to occupy the ravines. The attack succeeded completely; and after a long and severe contest, the enemy evacuated the town, some retiring into the great mosque, and others to the ditch near the gateway, under cover of the guns of the fort. The attack on the ravines was equally successful; but owing to the high spirit and impetuous bravery of the officers and men of the native battalions, who, after gaining that object, quitted the position and gained the glacis, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's guns, the British troops employed on this attack were exposed to a heavy fire of grape and musketry from the fort, which occasioned a severe loss in men and officers. The enemy, however, were now entirely defeated, with the loss of six hundred men; and the victors captured twenty-six fine brass guns, mounted on field carriages, with limbers complete. There were also taken the same number of tumbrils, laden with ammunition, and twenty-nine ammunition carriages.

Of this gallant affair, due notice was taken by the commander-in-chief, who, in his general orders and official despatches, after

encomium on all the officers and men of the several corps employed that day, bestowed particular praises upon individuals for their meritorious services. Those persons so distinguished were Lieutenant Colonel White, who commanded five companies of the sixteenth regiment of native infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cullock, Major Haldane, and Captain Worsley, Colonel Gerard, adjutant-general, and the honourable Major-General St. John, who advanced at the head of the second battalion of the second regiment of native infantry to support the attack; praise also was bestowed upon Major Thomas and Lieutenant Rose of the fourteenth regiment; Lieutenants Bingham and Hay of the artillery, the former having been employed in the assault, and the latter in a detachment of the same corps, to bring off the enemy's artillery; Lieutenant Lucan and Lieutenant Ryan, with the officers and men of the three companies of the second battalion of the twelfth regiment, who were engaged in the attack of the ravines. Our loss consisted of two hundred and twenty-eight killed and wounded, among whom were the following officers; Lieutenants Grant and Whitaker of the second battalion ninth regiment, killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard, adjutant-general, Lieutenant Bingham of the artillery, Lieutenant Woollet, first battalion twelfth regiment, Major Thomas, Lieutenant Rose, Ensign Oliver, first battalion fourteenth regiment, and Lieutenant Perry, first battalion fifteenth regiment, wounded.

Two days after this exploit, the remainder of the enemy's battalions at the outside of the fort agreed to surrender, and accordingly marched to the British camp on the morning of the thirteenth, to the amount of two thousand five hundred strong.

The operations of the siege immediately commenced, and our approaches were made under cover of the ravines, from which the enemy had been driven, the breaching battery being erected within three hundred and fifty yards on the south-east side of the fort, near the river. On the same day the garrison in the fort requested a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of adjusting the terms of capitulation, which was accordingly granted till four o'clock in the afternoon; and in the interval, Colonel Sutherland, who was liberated from confinement by the besieged, arrived in camp with the following letter addressed to the commander-in-chief:

"Sir,

We have the honour to inform your Excellency, that, notwithstanding the past violent and unwarrantable proceedings of the people of the fort, they have at last become a little more reasonable, from our repeatedly telling them that any further resistance on their part would avail them nothing, but, on the contrary, would exasperate your Excellency, and the troops under your command, so as to exterminate the whole of them if a storm took place.

"Their commandants have consequently come to us this forenoon in a body, and requested of us to forward to your Excellency the accompanying proposal for the surrender of the fort, to which their respective names are affixed. Should any unforeseen deviation from this proposal take place, as we are still their prisoners, we hope your Excellency will not impute to us the blame.

"Their proposal is to deliver up the fort, guns, stores, &c. to your Excellency, at any time after the receipt of this you may think

proper; protection to themselves and private property, after delivering up the sircars, arms, and property; and be allowed to remain in the city, or to go wherever their families may be.

We have the honour to be,

(Signed) G. W. HESSING.
H. SUTHERLAND.

The paper mentioned in this letter was in these terms: "All the officers of the fort of Akbarabad give in writing the following engagement:

"Whereas, a misunderstanding has taken place with Colonel George William Hessing, at the instigation of the sepoys, all the officers and sepoys do give in writing this engagement, that we will implicitly abide by whatever the said colonel may adjust on our part with General Lake, for the security of our lives, properties, effects, and honour. We have agreed to invest the said colonel with full powers for this purpose.

"This engagement is correct: dated the twenty-fifth Jemmaan-oo-Saurnee, 1218 (eleventh or twelfth of October): signed by fifteen officers, Mohammedans, and Hindoos."

To these proposals the commander-in-chief returned the following answer by Captain Salkeld, who accompanied Colonel Sutherland back to the fort.

"His Excellency General Lake engages that all the officers and sepoys who are within the fort of Akbarabad shall be allowed to proceed in the most honourable manner, with their clothes, whithersoever they may chuse. No interruption whatever will be given to

these officers and sepoys, their wives and children; but all the arms and military weapons, muskets and guns, carts, carriages, and treasure, which may be within the fort, shall belong to the company. They (the officers, &c.) shall not be allowed to carry out of the fort any money, or effects of the above description. The officers are required to specify in writing the hour at which they may determine with the bearer of this engagement to surrender the fort, in order that British troops may enter the place.

"God is witness to the sincerity of this engagement."

Notwithstanding the engagement which had been so explicitly entered into, on the part of the native officers, Captain Salkeld, who, at his admission into the fort, saw all the chiefs, found that a great diversity of opinion prevailed among them on the subject. Many difficulties were started, and whilst he was endeavouring to obviate them, the firing re-commenced from the fort, which unexpected occurrence induced him to hasten his return to the camp, about eight o'clock in the evening. The only communication with the place was by water; and when Captain Salkeld stepped into his boat with a light, the officer who commanded our battery of two twelve pounders, which was on the bank, and completely commanded the river, thinking that some of the enemy were endeavouring to make their escape with treasure, let fly a rattling shot, which had very near sunk the boat. This unwelcome salutation was about to be followed by another, when the voice of our friend was heard, exclaiming, "Don't fire! It is I; it is Captain Salkeld!" Luckily, a repetition of the words re-echoed through the trenches, just in time to prevent the second shot, which might have proved of fatal consequence; and Captain

Salkeld came safe on shore, where he was met by the officers who had run to the beach at the report of the gun.

The enemy now kept up a terrible fire, which they continued through the whole night; and the cause of their renewing it in the midst of the negotiation was, as Captain Salkeld learnt, the circumstance of our working parties being actively employed in the trenches. These were volunteers from the eighth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth regiments of light dragoons, who began to work soon after it was dark; and the enemy hearing the noise of their tools, as they easily might, considering that we were so close as to distinguish their voices in the fort, instantly took the alarm and began to fire, though with more fury than effect. They also sent up, every now and then, rockets, for the purpose of ascertaining our situation; while every hour the sound of horns and shoutings gave the signal of their relieving guard, on which occasions the firing from the fort invariably increased, to shew that they were upon the alert; and then it slackened by degrees till the next rounds commenced.

During all this, not a shot was returned on our side, except discharging a musket at times, whenever some of their matchlock fellows had the effrontery to approach, by creeping under the cover of darkness to the very edge of our battery.

On the morning of the fourteenth, his Excellency being anxious, from motives of humanity, to prevent carnage, sent another messenger with a letter to the garrison; but such was their obstinacy, that they refused all intercourse, which made it obvious that their previous negotiation was nothing more than an artifice to gain time. Thus matters stood till the break of day on the seventeenth, when the

grand battery being completed, consisting of eight eighteen pounders, and four howitzers, began a tremendous fire on the south-east bastion of the fort, which appeared to be the least capable of resistance. An enfilading battery of four twelve pounders was to the left of the breaching battery, and to the right, on the bank of the river, the two twelve poundets just mentioned. Our fire was so well directed, that the breach would soon have become practicable, which being perceived by the enemy, they sent out to capitulate the next morning; in consequence of which the fort was immediately evacuated, and the garrison, amounting to five or six thousand men, having marched out, the place was occupied by the British troops, under the command of Colonel MacDonald. Twenty tumbrils laden with treasure, to the amount of twenty-two lacs of rupees, were found in the fort, with guns, ammunition, and stores in abundance.

Among the ordnance taken in this place, was one enormous brass gun, which for magnitude and beauty, being perfect in all its dimensions, stands unrivalled. This famous piece, which is known in the east by the distinction of "the great gun of Agra," though said to be made of brass, is generally affirmed to have been composed of all the precious metals; and that the assertion has some solid foundation, appears from the circumstance that the shroffs of the city offered the English commander a lac of rupees, or twelve thousand pounds for it, merely to melt it down.

It is difficult to conjecture what use could have been made of such an enormous instrument of destruction, even for the purposes of defensive warfare; but it is more difficult to conceive in what manner the immense mass of metal necessary for the construction of

it was thrown into a state of regular fusion. Some idea of the piece may be formed from the following sketch and measurement, communicated by a distinguished officer of the artillery, who surveyed it on the spot.

The gun is of one cylinder, without ornaments; having four rings, two at the muzzle, and the same at the breech.

Calibre of the gun, 23 inches; metal at the muzzle, 11½ inches; diameter of the trunnions, 11 inches; length, 14 feet 2 inches; length of the bore, 8 feet 8 inches; ditto of the chamber, 4 feet 4 inches; diameter of ditto, 10 inches; length of the cascabel, 1 foot 2 inches; weight of the gun, 1207½ maunds, one of which being equal to 80 pounds, makes the entire weight 96,600 pounds. The ball of this gun, when made of cast iron, weighs fifteen [illegible] pounds.

General Lake had a great desire to remo[illegible]ophy from Agra to Calcutta, with a view of transporting it [illegible]ely to England; but though a raft was prepared for its conveyance upon the Jumna, the stupendous body of metal proved too heavy for the frame-work, and the whole sunk in the bed of the river, where the gun lay buried in the sands when I last saw it.

Besides this wonderful cannon, there was also a fine seventy-two

pounder of the same composition as that just described, together with seventy-six brass guns, and eighty-six iron ones of different kinds, as mortars, howitzers, carronades, and gallopers, making a total of one hundred and sixty-four pieces of ordnance, with thirty-three tumbrils, taken in the fort. The brass guns were, in general, of the same manufacture and construction as those taken at Delhi, and in the camp and town. Several of the iron ones were of that description called bar guns; and the whole were mounted either on travelling carriages with elevating screws, or on country block carriages, turning on a large pivot.

Thus, with an unexampled rapidity, succeeded a series of the most important achievements on the north-west frontier of Oude, where the pre-eminent talents of the commander-in-chief, aided by the prompt exertions of his gallant army, emulous of his glorious example, were carried into full effect the comprehensive plans laid down by the governor-general, whose sense of their services was duly manifested in the public acknowledgments expressed on this occasion. Nor were the people at large deficient in exultation at an event which contributed so materially to the [illegible] of the British empire in the east.

The gratifying [illegible] the capture of Agra was received at the capital with [illegible] demonstrations of joy and admiration. Royal salutes from [illegible] of Fort William, followed by feux-de-joi from all the troops in garrison, announced the agreeable tidings to the inhabitants, while the public levees and durbars, held at the government house, were thronged with persons of rank, Europeans and natives, to offer their congratulations on the brilliant success that had crowned the British arms in Hindoostan and the Deccan.

There was, indeed, ample reason for these marks of rapturous elation, since the conquest of Agra not only completed the security already afforded to the navigation of the Jumna in the possession of Delhi and Mutra, but gave additional strength to our dominions, by the acquisition of a considerable tract of country on the right bank of that river.

But while the people of India were rejoicing at an event which promised them the permanent blessing of peace, under the protection of the British government, an artful attempt was made to rob the victors of the hard earnings of their laborious efforts and bravery. There was found in the fort of Agra specie amounting to about two hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, which, on all accounts, was clearly public property, and appertained as matter of right, in the nature of conquest, to the captors. But M. Perron, who, no doubt, was well acquainted with the deposit of this treasure, laid claim to the whole of it soon after his arrival at Lucknow, alleging that he had placed it, with other effects, in the hands of a native agent, who refused to deliver it up, on the ground that being in the fortress of Agra he had no command over it. M. Perron, therefore, with singular effrontery, but with an address peculiar to adventurers of his description, applied to the governor-general for instructions to the commander-in-chief, in order to compel the agent to give up the twenty-two lacs of rupees detained at Agra, together with whatever effects might be found there or any where else. To this extraordinary request, the governor-general declined returning an answer, till he had received an explanation from his Excellency General Lake, when it appeared clear beyond all question that the

protection assured to Perron extended no farther than the property which he might bring personally with him into the territories of the company, and could have no reference to claims which he might afterwards set up to any thing left by him in an enemy's country. An inquiry, however, took place on the subject, when it appeared, from the acknowledgments of Colonel Hessing, the commandant of the fort, as well as of all the European officers in the garrison of Agra, that the property in question was to all intents and purposes of a public description, as a proof of which, part of the money so deposited in the fort of Agra for security, on the account of Scindiah, had been disbursed in the payment of his troops. Under these circumstances, nothing would have been more unjust to the captors, and injurious as a precedent, than the allowance of a demand which obviously proceeded from the duplicity of avarice. The property, therefore, after undergoing a strict examination, in regard to its nature, and the claims of those who were entitled to share the prize, was divided under the direction of a committee in the British camp, among the officers and troops, in proportions previously settled by deliberation, and sanctioned by the commander-in-chief.

The modern city of Agra rises majestically from the south-west side of the Jumna, and sweeps along its bank in a vast semicircle, presenting on a distant view an idea of grandeur, wealth, and population, which is far from being realized on a nearer inspection. In the days of its prosperity, under the splendid reign of Akbar, the Solon of the east, who founded Agra in 1566, the circumference was not less than thirty miles: but, at present, the inhabited part bears no comparison to its former extent and magnificence. The

houses consist of several stories, and the streets are very narrow; though there are several handsome buildings within the precincts of the modern city; and in the neighbourhood are still standing innumerable palaces and seats, belonging to the ancient nobility of the empire, some of which are in a good state of preservation, with elegant gardens, but the greatest part are in a melancholy state of dilapidation.

These remains of former grandeur would alone mark the prodigious height of glory from which this famous city has fallen; but Agra has far more splendid monuments to attest its power and riches, when the seat of empire, than the immense quantity of ruins which lie scattered, as far as the eye can reach, over its surrounding plains.

The fort of Akbarabad, so called after its great founder, the illustrious Akbar, is of very large size, and strongly built of a kind of red stone, of the hardness and colour of jasper, brought from the quarries of Futtypore. It has a ditch of great depth, and a double rampart, the inner one being of an enormous height, with bastions at regular distances; but some of these were recently erected by General Perron. Every thing, indeed, had been done to add to the strength of a place, which, by the natives, is denominated "the key of Hindoostan."

On the inner rampart, towards the river, are elegant apartments, constructed of white marble, and very neatly finished, for the accommodation of the officers. In the centre is a fine oblong square, with an avenue of shady trees, at the end of which is a noble arch of considerable height, leading to a large area covered with grass, where are two capital powder magazines, bomb proof. Besides the imperial palace, the fort contains numerous buildings, as mosques, arsenals, store-houses,

with baths and fountains, all formed of white marble and still existing in a state of perfect repair. The Ina Khana, or looking-glass bath, when lighted up, and the artificial cascade made to play, exhibits all the effect of enchantment. These noble works afford abundant evidence of the superior taste of the founder of Agra, as well as of his immediate descendants; but the accounts left of the court of Akbar, and of the magnificence of his palace, by those who witnessed the whole in the height of the Mogul power, infinitely surpass all that the human imagination can figure to itself, even when surveying the remaining memorials of imperial pomp.

Akbar having determined upon making Agra his residence, collected together, at a vast expense, the most able architects and skilful artists for the perfection of his plan. The palace alone took up twelve years in building, during which period above one thousand labourers were employed every day; and the entire cost is said to have amounted to three millions of rupees.

The castle, which was built in the form of a crescent on the bank of the Jumna, was above a mile in extent, and consisted of three courts ornamented with beautiful porticoes, galleries, and turrets, many of which were covered with plates of gold. The first court, surrounded with arched colonnades, that gave a constant shelter from the sun, was intended for the use of the royal guard; the second for the principal omrahs and ministers of state, who had therein offices for the despatch of public business; and the third court, within which was the haram, consisted of the private apartments of the emperor, hung with the richest silks, and glittering with precious stones. Behind these were the imperial gardens, enriched with all the

luxuriances that could gratify the senses, and laid out in a style of exquisite beauty. Towards the river was a large area for the exercise of the royal elephants, and occasional conflicts of wild beasts; while in an immense square, which separated the palace from the city, lay constantly encamped a considerable military force, splendidly arrayed for the conservation of order, and the security of the place. The interior of this superb palace comported with the magnitude of its buildings, and the splendour with which it was surrounded. Mandesio, who visited Agra some years after the death of Akbar, says that this palace was the most magnificent he had ever seen; that at the farther end of the third court was a row of silver pillars under a piazza, beyond which was the audience chamber, ornamented with a row of golden pillars; and that within this was the royal throne of the same metal strewed over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones. The same traveller adds, that above this throne was a gallery, where the emperor sat every day to hear the complaints of his subjects; and that none but the royal family were suffered behind the golden pillars. Mandesio likewise takes notice of an apartment having a tower covered with gold, and within which were eight large vaults filled with an immense quantity of treasure.

Tavernier, who visited Agra, when the court was removed to Delhi, obtained leave to visit the interior of this palace, which he describes very minutely; and, among other objects, he mentions a gallery adorned with tracery work of gold and azure, begun by a French architect under the orders of the emperor Shah Jehan, who designed to have overlaid it with silver, which purpose was laid aside in consequence of the death of the artist.

But Tavernier notices another gallery projected by the same monarch, that would, if executed, have infinitely surpassed the former in elegance and value. This the emperor intended to have covered over with lattice work of emeralds and rubies, representing grapes in all their gradations of fructification from the first stage, when green, to the fullness of their red appearance and ripeness for the vintage. "This design," says the same author, "made a great noise; but as it required more riches than the world could afford, it was laid aside, after the completion of three stocks of a vine in gold, with the fruit and leaves enamelled, according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones." Manouchi, a Persian physician, who was resident in that capacity at the court of Agra, says, that this gallery had some immense mirrors on the sides, set in frames of orient pearl, and which reflected the clusters of precious stones in such a manner as to dazzle the eyes of beholders.

Adjoining to the palace, and stretching along the banks of the river, were numerous mansions belonging to the great omrahs and princes of the empire, who endeavoured to please their sovereign by adding to the beauty of his new city. So much, indeed, had the emperor this foundation at heart, that he called the metropolis by his own name---Akbarabad; and he directed his utmost attention to render the place worthy of that lofty distinction, by erecting spacious caravanseras, extensive bazars, and numerous mosques. He also invited strangers to settle in the capital, by building factories for them, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and granting many valuable privileges to those who carried on useful branches of trade, or were distinguished by their skill in the liberal arts. By this course of enlightened

policy, Akbarabad quickly attained the first rank in India, and was continually crowded with merchants from Europe, and all parts of the east.

But after the death of that puissant and liberal monarch, Agra gradually declined, particularly in the reign of Shah Jehan, who being also actuated by the desire of founding a capital that should bear his name, transferred the seat of empire to Delhi, in consequence of which this splendid city went rapidly to decay. Shah Jehan, however, who to the spirit of ambition united a most elegant taste, was induced to adorn the palace of Akbarabad with some splendid works, and, above all, to render the city still more celebrated by the erection of that matchless monument of elegance and affection, the renowned Tauje Mahal, which certainly merits the appellation bestowed upon it of being the wonder of the world. This superb mausoleum was erected by Shah Jehan, to commemorate the virtues of his favourite sultana, who died in child-bed in the year 1631. It is most delightfully situated about three miles from Agra, and on the western bank of the Jumna, which rolls majestically along under its walls, with a breadth of near half a mile at this place. The pile is of the purest white marble, the whole covering an area three hundred yards long, and one hundred and twenty wide, surrounded by a lofty wall of red granite, which has a noble porch with a massy pair of brass gates, forming the grand entrance in front of the building. At the four external angles of this enclosure are as many bastions; and on the sides the same number of octagonal buildings, each three stories high, and surmounted by a dome. After passing through the porch, on the sides of which are engraved passages from the Koran, inlaid in

black marble, the Tauje appears rising with imperial grandeur in the middle of gardens, ornamented with marble fountains, and laid out in extensive graperies, plantations of fruit trees, with flowers and shrubs, which exhale the most delightful odour, and were designed for the daily decoration of the tombs of Shah Jehan and his beloved spouse. On descending by marble steps into the gardens, at the distance of two hundred yards from the hall is a large square basin of marble, with jets d'eau at each corner. This was intended originally for a bathing-place, in which all visitors were to perform the purifying rite of ablution before they presumed to enter the sacred building. From thence there is a paved footway of broad stones, across which runs a canal for watering the garden, about one hundred feet long, and thirty wide, having a number of fountains down the middle. On either side of the walks is a row of limes, oranges, and other scented fruit trees, between which and the walks are small octagonal parterres filled with balsams, framed with stone to prevent the water of the canal from running over. These walks afford a delightful noontide retreat to the inhabitants of Agra, and such occasional visitors as may be attracted by curiosity to view the wonders of this enchanting place.

The ascent to the Tauje from the gardens is by a noble flight of marble steps, leading to an extensive terrace about sixty feet high, and four hundred square, in the centre of which stands the mausoleum, having round it a delightful promenade forty feet wide, composed of beautiful white marble slabs, highly polished, and divided into small regular squares, joined together by narrow streaks of black marble, neatly inlaid, and perfectly smooth. At each angle of the terrace is an elegant minaret, about one hundred feet in height, with a spiral stair-

case on the inside, leading to a small cupola supported by eight pillars, from which a noble view expands itself, taking in both sides of the Jumna, the fort of Akbarabad, and the immense ruins scattered in its neighbourhood.

Nothing can be conceived more exquisitely light and graceful than these minarets, which, with the lesser ones that surround the grand dome, contribute greatly to heighten the general beauty of the building. The Tauje is about one hundred and ninety feet square, but by cutting off the angles, and reducing the whole to an octagon of unequal sides, the four fronts are reduced to one hundred and forty feet each. From the centre rises the dome, about seventy feet in diameter; and in the middle of each of the four great fronts is an arch thrown over the door, through which light is admitted into the vestibule. Over the great entrance, and down the sides, are passages in the ancient Arabic character, taken from the Koran, and inlaid with jet stone in the white marble, but so delicately executed as to be taken for painting, till by passing the nail over the surface the cement is discovered. This archway is farther ornamented with festoons of flowers and wreaths, formed of cornelians, jasper, agate, blood stones, and other precious materials, disposed with exquisite taste, and finished with the greatest ingenuity.

Passing through another vestibule of white marble, and ornamented like the former, you enter that part of the building where lie the remains of the illustrious dead, and which fills the mind with the sublimest ideas and affecting emotions. This place is a complete octagon, each side being twenty-four feet, and the whole is surmounted

by a dome. The walls are richly encrusted with fret-work in relief, inlaid with flowers composed of precious stones; and the windows above, which are of the Saracenic order, are full eighteen feet in height; the arches being covered with Arabic inscriptions from the Koran. The tombs are surrounded by a noble marble railing of an octagonal form, and richly ornamented. That of the emperor is distinguished from his consort's by the Khulumdan, or standish, with a pen in it, being emblematic of the sovereign power of the personage who rests beneath. The tomb has the farther addition of a tulip, most beautifully wrought in mosaic; besides which, there are on this, as well as on that of the empress, a profusion of fruits and flowers represented, formed of precious stones, and dispersed in all the varieties of tints and shades agreeable to the respective objects for which they are intended. The tomb of the emperor has an inscription in Persian; but that of his partner, which is on the right hand of the other, has one in the Hindoostanee language. Over the sepulchral apartment, which receives its light from the windows of the dome above in a manner that gives a solemn effect to the objects upon which it is thrown, is another room exactly similar, in the centre of which are cenotaphs corresponding with the tombs, and encircled by a screen of marble fret-work, six feet in height, having round its border near the top wreaths of artificial flowers, composed in the same manner as those already described, and so delicately finished, that the junction cannot be perceived without the help of a microscope. The immense number of precious stones employed in the formation of these elegant

works may be conceived from the fact, that no less than seventy-two were counted in one flower alone. The whole of the interior of this noble dome, which rises to a considerable height, is so profusely clustered with fruits, flowers, and foliage of the same splendid description, as to have the appearance of a blooming bower; and there can be little doubt that it was intended to convey an idea of the blissful seats of Paradise, where, according to the representations given in the Koran of the felicity of the faithful, they shall rest on couches adorned with precious stones, with virgins ever fresh and blooming, enjoying the luxurious delight of a perpetual spring, amidst flowers of renewed fragrance, and fruits continually growing with increasing deliciousness.

That the mausoleum erected by Shah Jehan had this object of his faith in view, may also be inferred from the circumstance of its being placed in a garden, filled with every tree and flower that could refresh the sense, furnished with fountains to allay the fervid heat of the atmosphere, and with shady retreats inviting to repose. The building itself is so constructed as to elevate the mind with these sublime ideas, while surveying the pomp and splendour of earthly magnificence; for under the dome such a reverberation of sound is produced as gives the most solemn effect imaginable to the soft sound of a flute, or the low chaunt of a human voice, the echo of which floats along the spacious roof like the music of a cathedral, calming the perturbed passions, abstracting the mind from the cares of the world, and, in the language of the poet,

> Untwisting all the chains that tie
> The hidden soul of Harmony.

There are other apartments connected with those already described,

to which they have communications with vestibules on the sides, and having three windows each, faced with white marble, and pavements of the same material. The door at the grand entrance was originally of jasper; but this valuable relic has been taken away by the barbarous Jauts, who also plundered the place of as many precious stones as they could easily pick out; besides which, much of what those marauders could not remove has suffered considerably from neglect and the silent ravages of time. The exterior of the dome has a very grand appearance, having two gilded globes on the top, one above another, with a large crescent, also gilt, surmounting the whole.

In the front of the mausoleum, and connected with it, are two handsome edifices, faced with red and white stone disposed in a mosaic style. That on the west side of the mausoleum is a plain mosque paved with marble; while the opposite building was intended for the accommodation of the imaums and others, whose duty it was to attend the religious services of the place. The hall, at the entrance of the garden, is forty feet square, and on each side of it are apartments originally designed for a body of Fakeers, who subsisted on the bounty of Shah Jehan; but the fund for this purpose having long since ceased, these rooms, as well as many others appertaining to the structure, have gone to decay.

This celebrated work, which was begun within a few months after the death of the sultana, took eleven years in building; and many more were occupied in adding to its ornaments. It is said that when Shah Jehan engaged in this splendid undertaking, he sent to demand from all the tributaries of his empire materials for the completion of his design; which order was punctually executed, and cheerfully complied with, some sending marble, others granite;

and many transmitting to the imperial treasury the most costly stones to be found in their provinces: the whole of which were placed under the direction of the most able artists, and occupied the labour of twenty thousand persons. The mere expense of the workmanship amounted to no less a sum than ninety-six lacs of rupees, about a million sterling. For the protection of the place, and to keep it in order, a company of artillery and a battalion of infantry were constantly kept on the spot, under the command of an officer of high distinction and noble birth; while provision was made for a number of priests and singers to perform religious rites in the mosque and the sepulchre; besides whom, there was a suitable establishment of servants to look after the interior of the building, and take care of the plants and trees in the garden. It was the intention of Shah Jehan to have erected a similar structure for himself on the other side of the river opposite to this, and which was to have been joined to it by a magnificent bridge of marble; but though the ground was enclosed, and some progress made in the foundation of the building, the design was frustrated by the clouds of rebellion which darkened the close of his reign; and after a long confinement in the castle of Agra, this munificent patron of the arts found a resting place in the same mausoleum which he had constructed in honour of his wife. The name of this amiable woman was Arjummed Banoo, which, according to oriental usage, was altered on her elevation to that of Moorutaz Zumanee, signifying the paragon of the age; but afterwards this also was changed to Nourjehan, or light of the world. She was the daughter of Asoph Khan, the brother of the celebrated Noutmahal, and the favourite vizir of Shah Jehan, to whose accession, indeed, he had materially contributed, and whom he after-

wards served with the greatest fidelity. In contemplating this splendid monument of taste and affection, a feeling of regret is naturally excited by the fate of its magnificent founder; but while the mind is filled with indignation against Aurungzebe, who deposed his father, and murdered a great part of his family, the emotion yields to an admiration of that providence which never fails, sooner or later, to visit rebellion with the full measure of retributive justice. The conduct of Shah Jehan towards his father, Jehanguire, was such as to render it impossible for him to reproach his own unnatural son for his disobedience and cruelty. It is true that the character of Jehanguire was far from being such as to command the esteem of his subjects, who beheld in his manners the reverse of that energy and judgment which distinguished the brilliant reign of his illustrious father, Akbar the Great. Sunk in the lap of dalliance, and addicted to wine, Jehanguire neglected the affairs of state, and suffered the beautiful Nourmahal to reign as absolute in the empire as she did over his affections. This extraordinary woman, whose story has almost become as popular in Europe as in Asia, was the daughter of the Etemadawlet, or high treasurer of the empire, who gave her in marriage, when very young, to a noble Persian officer, named Shere Afkun. The young prince, Jehanguire, happening to see the lady during the lifetime of his father, became so greatly enamoured of her charms, as to exert every effort in order to gain the possession of her person. In this object, however, he could not then succeed; for such was the inflexible integrity of the emperor, and his scrupulous regard to the immutable laws of morality, that no solicitations could prevail with him to give his assent to the proposal of a divorce,

though the parties were only betrothed to each other. But when on the death of Akbar this obstacle was removed, Jehanguire, without any compunction, caused the husband to be assassinated; and meeting with no reluctance on the part of the young widow and her friends, he espoused Nourmahal in form, and publicly acknowledged her as the empress.

The ambitious spirit of this woman quickly developed itself; and her influence was perceived in the promotion of the numerous branches of her family to all the high and lucrative offices in the government. To such a degree was this ascendency carried, and with so much imprudence was it managed, as to occasion general discontent throughout the imperial dominions, particularly among the great omrahs and leading families, who were indignant at the loss of power, and exasperated against those who had reduced the sovereign to a mere cypher in the state. Under these circumstances, and in a country where loyalty is accommodated more to convenience than regulated by conscience, the intrigues of sedition were not easily detected. The prince Khorum, who assumed the proud title of Shah Jehan, or king of the world, in his government, and who had given a specimen of what might be expected from him in the murder of his elder brother, Khosro, took advantage of his father's weakness; and having married the daughter of Asoph Khan, he soon brought over that minister to second his views. The prince, being joined by the disaffected in considerable numbers, hoisted the standard of rebellion in the province of Guzerat, but was defeated and pardoned. This disappointment, however, was so far from repressing the ambitious designs which he had projected, that it only served to redouble his

confident was he of success, as to cause a sumptuous throne of massy gold, studded with precious stones, to be formed for his installation. But he was again doomed to experience the mortification of a complete defeat; and Shatli Khan, the imperial general, having broken the splendid throne in pieces, applied the materials to the payment of the troops which he commanded. These reiterated attempts upon the crown were sufficient to have warranted the severest punishment inflicted upon rebellion in the east; but such was the easy disposition of Jehanguire, that he even passed over the second outrage of his son, who abused the lenity which he experienced; and by his machinations assembled a still more powerful army, with the view of establishing himself in the sovereignty. In this design he was again frustrated by the energies of his eldest brother, the Sultan Parvez, who overthrew his forces after a sharp contest; and thus for a time shielded the imperial diadem from these sacrilegious attempts. But the death of that gallant and loyal sultan soon after made a great change in the circumstances of Jehanguire, whose apathy was so far shaken by that event, as to produce a deep melancholy, which even the arts and blandishments, the fascinating powers and persuasions of Nourmahal, could not dispel; and he sank under it at Bember, October the twenty-seventh, 1627, after appointing for his successor Sultan Shehriar, who had married the daughter of Nourmahal by her former husband. This last act of the imbecile monarch afforded a decided proof of the absolute dominion which the empress continued to hold over his mind to the last moment of his existence. The nomination, however, was not likely to be acceded to, where the spirit of discontent had already operated in so many desperate struggles to destroy the power of this enchanting woman, whose own brother could not

remain inactive under an usurpation which tended to the injury of his own child. Asoph Khan therefore took the command of the army of his son-in-law; and having defeated the victim of Nourmahal's ambition, caused him to be blinded with a hot iron at Lahore, and thus rendered him incapable, according to the savage policy of the eastern courts, of ever again disturbing the succession.

As Shah Jehan was at this time in the Deccan, the victorious general placed the crown on the head of the Sultan Bolaki, son of the deceased Khosro; but this was done only with the intention of preserving order till the return of the new emperor, who was enthroned with great pomp at Agra, February the first, 1628. This opening of his reign was marked by circumstances of barbarity and injustice, to which even the history of oriental despotism will exhibit but few parallels. Not content with putting Shehriar to death as a traitor, he even doomed the unfortunate Bolaki to lose his head, though that prince had been placed on the throne contrary to his own inclination, and even to secure it for the man who now imputed that act of compulsion to him as a crime. And yet this barbarity was exceeded in atrocity, if possible, by the murder of the three sons of the Sultan Daniel, brother of Jehanguire. These unfortunate princes, who had long been confined in the castle of Lahore, were totally incapable of disturbing the government of their inhuman cousin, who notwithstanding caused them to be assassinated at midnight.

These sanguinary deeds were perpetrated for the purpose of securing the imperial diadem to the family of Shah Jehan, which then consisted of four sons and three daughters; but little did the tyrant think, while he pursued this crooked line of policy, that some of his own children, for whom he committed such diabolical acts would

return upon him in his declining years a portion of the same vengeance which he had inflicted upon the innocent. By practising the most refined hypocrisy, and affecting all the austerity of a religious devotee, Aurungzebe, the third son of Shah Jehan, succeeded in circumventing his father, and depriving him of his throne, which he never recovered, but ended his days, at the beginning of 1666, in the castle of Agra, where his only consolation lay in the affectionate attentions of his accomplished daughter, the princess Jehanara. From this period the decline of the Mogul empire may be properly dated; for though Aurungzebe maintained the sovereignty near fifty years, during which he considerably extended his dominions, he found with the increase of territory an addition of trouble; and his death, which happened at the advanced age of ninety, in the year 1707, was embittered by anxiety and remorse, the one arising from the remembrance of his enormities, and the other occasioned by the distracted state of the country.

Perhaps a more fearful portrait of that gloomy state of mind which hangs suspended between the recollection of past transgressions and the prospect of a future state of retribution, can hardly be imagined, than what is exhibited in the letters written by the ordering Aurungzebe to his two sons a little before his dissolution. In one of them, he says: "The instant passed in power hath left nothing but sorrow behind it. I have neither been the guardian nor the protector of my empire. My precious time hath been spent in vanity; and though conscience was originally placed in my bosom, the light of it has been darkened. Life is not lasting: there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes of futurity are lost. I have a dread of salvation, and with what torments I may be punished [illegible]

let what will happen, my vessel is launched upon the billows of eternity." To another son, he thus bewails his forsaken condition: "Now I depart, a stranger, and lament my own insignificance; and yet what does it profit me, since I carry with me the fruits of my sins and transgressions? Truly, Providence is wonderful; for, to the government I came alone, and destitute I depart. The very conductor of the caravan hath deserted me. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the power of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and has not even left hope behind it. I have committed innumerable crimes, and know not what punishment may seize upon me. But whatever good or ill I may have done, was for your benefit. Take it not amiss, therefore, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself: that no account may be exacted of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing."

Such was the end of this terrible scourge of the Hindoos, with whom the glory of the house of Timur faded away, and the splendour of the Mogul empire suffered a total eclipse. In the vicissitudes of fortune, and [illegible] chances of war, the capital founded by the great Akbar has passed under the authority of the British government, among the beneficial effects of which may be stated the liberality displayed in the repair of the Tauje Mahal. Upon this famous building no less than three lacs of rupees have been expended since Agra came into our possession; and instead of despoiling the sacred repository of the dead of its remaining ornaments, the cracks produced in the tombs by the earthquake of 1803 have been filled up with silver.

CHAPTER VI.

March of the Army from Agra, in pursuit of the Enemy from the Deccan.—Battle of Laswarie, November the first, 1803.—The Rajahs between the Jumna and the Indus seek the British Protection and Alliance.—Congratulations of the Emperor to General Lake.—Visit of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor.—Address to the Commander-in-Chief from the Officers of his Army.—His Excellency's Answer.—March to Bianca.—Halt.

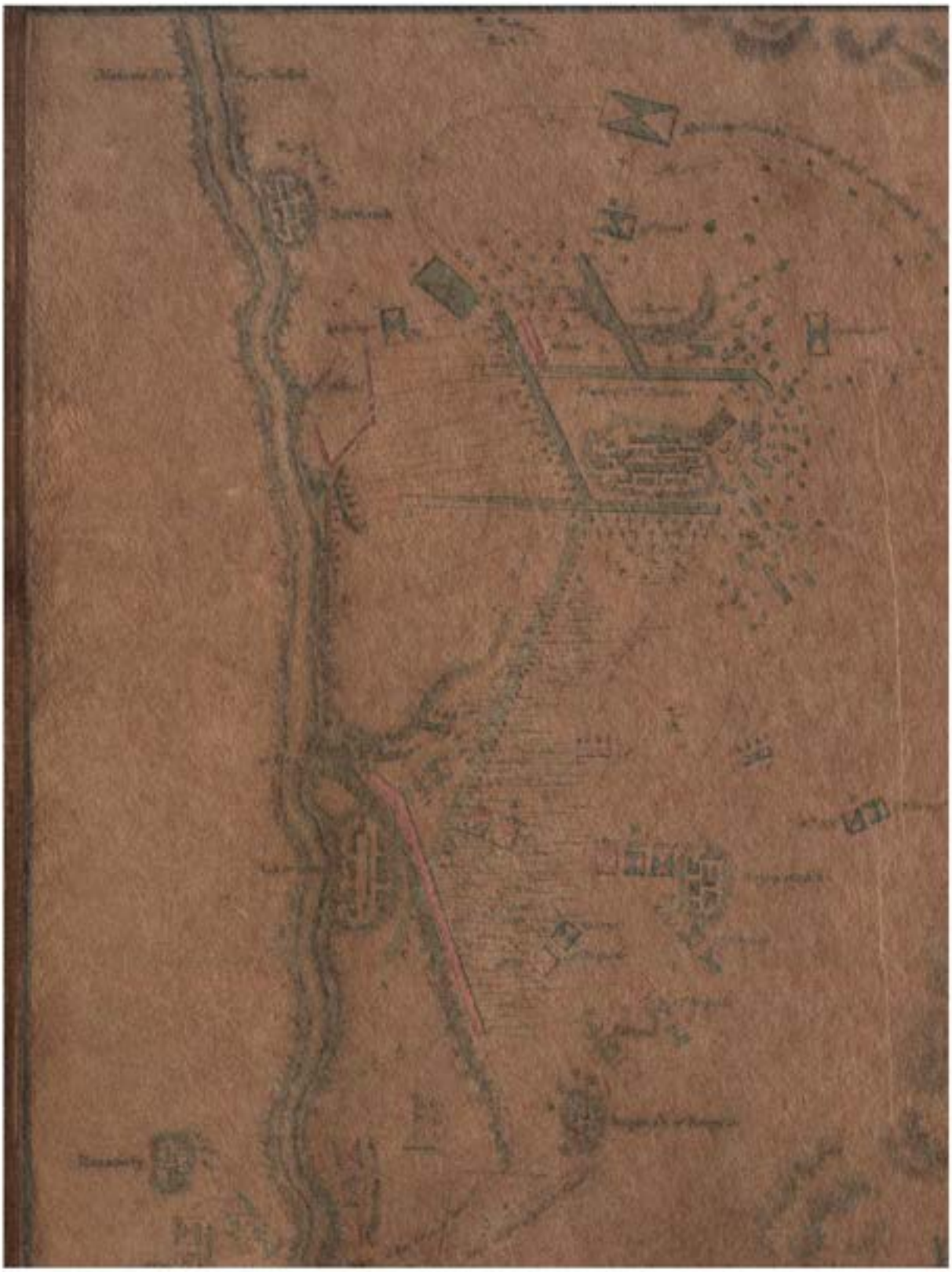
NOTWITHSTANDING the brilliancy and rapidity of the successes obtained by the British army, there yet remained a formidable force to be subdued, before the acquisitions gained under the personal direction of the commander-in-chief could be considered as secure.

In an early stage of the campaign, fifteen regular battalions, originally belonging to the military establishment formed by General Perron, were detached from the Deccan by Scindiah, under the command of Monsieur Dudernaigue, who subsequently surrendered himself, with some other European officers in the service of that chief, to the British force at Mutra under Colonel Vandeleur.

It was expected that this force, in conjunction with that assembled for the protection of Delhi, would have been sufficient to check the progress of the English, and to maintain the possession of that capital as well as of Agra. The battle fought on the eleventh of September completely thwarted these views; and during the siege of Agra, the force sent by Scindiah, though augmented by the two battalions which escaped from Delhi, made no attempt to prevent the fall of that

important fortress, but took up a strong position in the rear of our army. The object of the enemy in this proceeding was to wait for a favourable opportunity to recover the city of Delhi; the attainment of which was considered as a point of essential moment to the restoration of the Mahratta power over the imperial dominions and the tributary states. So long, therefore, as a force of this magnitude, furnished with a numerous train of artillery, was suffered to exist in the heart of Hindoostan, the confidence of those chiefs who were inimical to the English would have been strengthened, while the fears of the friendly powers on the other hand would have deterred them from declaring their attachment, or appearing openly in arms. Under these circumstances, it became necessary to clear the country of a danger that would have increased by delay, and have become more difficult of suppression by being slighted. The force actually assembled was of a description that called for vigorous measures, and the consequences to be apprehended from its accumulation rendered the immediate defeat and dispersion of it indispensable. Accordingly, the commander-in-chief having made, with his wonted promptitude, every arrangement for effecting this desirable object, the army marched from Agra on the twenty-seventh of October. The next day came on a tremendous storm of rain, which inundated the camp, and compelled the army to halt at Karowley; but on the following morning the march was resumed, and continued to the north-west of Futtypore Sikree. In the course of this afternoon a heavy cannonade was heard, which proved to be occasioned by the bombardment of Cutumbo, which place the enemy entirely destroyed. The next day the army effected a forced march of twenty miles,

leaving the heavy guns and baggage at Futtypore, under the protection of two battalions of native infantry, belonging to the fourth brigade. These exertions were made in order to accelerate our advance upon the enemy; and accordingly, on the thirty-first we encamped at a small distance from the ground which they had occupied near Cutumbo the same morning. In consequence of finding them thus near, the commander-in-chief resolved upon making an immediate effort to come up with them at the head of the cavalry, with whom he might keep them employed, and endeavour to seize their guns and baggage, till by the junction of the British infantry, who had orders to follow at three in the morning, full advantage might be taken of the confusion produced by his attack. In pursuance of this determination, General Lake set out with the whole of the cavalry the same night at eleven o'clock; and after a march of twenty-five miles, in little more than six hours, came up with the object of his pursuit about sunrise on the morning of the first of November. The force in quest of whom these extraordinary exertions were made, consisted of seventeen regular battalions of infantry, to the amount of about nine thousand men, seventy-two guns, and from four to five thousand cavalry. On our approach it appeared that the enemy were upon the retreat, and that in such confusion as to induce the British general to make an instant attack upon them, without waiting for the arrival of the infantry. The enemy, on their part, were not wanting in the adoption of measures for their defence, and the annoyance of our troops. With this view, by cutting the embankment of a large tank or reservoir of water, the road was rendered extremely difficult for the passage of cavalry, a circumstance, which, while it



impeded our progress, gave them an opportunity of choosing an advantageous position, (plate 5, a a) their right being in front of the village of Laswaree, and thrown back upon a rivulet, the banks of which were so very steep as to be extremely difficult of access; while their left was upon the village of Mohulpoor, and their entire front, which lay concealed from view by high grass, was defended by a most formidable line of artillery. In addition to these securities of force and situation, the enemy derived an advantage of no small moment from the immense cloud of dust raised by the movements of the cavalry, which so completely obscured the change that had taken place in their position, as to render it impossible for General Lake to avail himself of the circumstance, or to be guided by its observations, where so many perplexities contributed to produce embarrassment. These obstacles, however, which could have deterred no ordinary mind from attempting a desirable object till the prospect of success became more decided, had no other effect on the commander-in-chief than that of leading him to the prompt execution of his original plan, and confirming his resolution of preventing the retreat of the enemy, and of securing the possession of their artillery. Thus fixed in his determination, he ordered the advanced guard, with the first brigade of cavalry, to move upon the point where the enemy had been previously seen in motion, but which was, in fact, now become the left of their new position. This plan of attack was directed to be followed up by the remainder of the cavalry in succession, as fast as they could form, immediately on crossing the rivulet.

The obedience of the troops, and the alacrity of their officers, corresponded with the energy and daring spirit of their veteran

leader, as appeared in the charge made by the advanced guard under Major Griffiths of His Majesty's twenty-ninth regiment of dragoons, and aid-de-camp to the governor-general, as also in that of the first brigade, conducted by Colonel T. P. Vandeleur, of His Majesty's eighth regiment of dragoons *(b b)*. With so much impetuosity were these charges made, that the enemy's line was forced, the cavalry penetrated into the village, and several guns were taken; but the advantage was dearly purchased, by the loss of the brave Colonel Vandeleur, who, to the inexpressible regret of the whole army, received a mortal wound in this severe conflict. The attacks made by the other brigades of cavalry were conducted with the same spirit and success. The third brigade, under the command of Colonel Macan, which was next in succession, consisting of the twenty-ninth regiment of dragoons, and the fourth regiment of native cavalry attracted particular notice on this occasion, and which distinction was fully merited by these troops, whose services were of the most arduous and brilliant character. Having received orders to turn the right flank of the enemy, this brigade came up with them at a gallop, across the Nullah, under a heavy fire from their batteries: then forming instantly into line, *(c)* and moving on with the same steadiness as if it had been a review, our men charged the foe in the face of a tremendous shower, which scattered death in every direction, from all their artillery and musketry. To the former were fastened chains, running from one battery to another, for the purpose of impeding the progress of assailants; while, to render the execution the more deadly, the enemy reserved their fire [illegible] came within the distance of twenty yards of the [illegible], which

being concealed by the high grass jungle, became perceptible only when a frightful discharge of grape and double-headed shot mowed down whole divisions, as the sweeping storm of hail levels the growing crop of grain to the earth. But notwithstanding the shock of this iron tempest, and the awful carnage produced by it in our ranks, nothing could repress the ardour of the cavalry, whose velocity overcame every resistance, and bore down, with impetuous fury, the accumulated obstacles and fearful odds with which they had to contend. Having penetrated through the enemy's line, they immediately formed again, and charged backwards and forwards three times, with surprising order and effect, amidst the continued roar of cannon, and an incessant shower of grape and chain shot. (1, 2, 3.) The scene of horror was heightened, and the work of destruction increased, by the disadvantages under which our cavalry had to act; for no sooner had they charged through, than the artillery men of the enemy, who, to save themselves, had taken shelter under their guns, when our men had passed reloaded them, and fired upon our rear. Their battalions, which were drawn up behind a deep entrenchment covered by hackeries, carts, bullocks, and other cumbrous baggage, kept up a galling fire with musketry, which did great execution, and occasioned a serious loss to the assailants.

On their side also numbers fell in this severe struggle; and though all the guns immediately opposed to our troops were virtually taken and in our possession, yet for the want of draught bullocks and infantry to secure what we had so dearly earned, only two out of the number taken could be brought away. Though this severe conflict was distinguished by all the characteristics of British valour, in which

resolute firmness of the cavalry to carry their object, such was the inequality of the force engaged in the combat, and the destructive effects of the fire from the guns still remaining in the hands of the enemy, as to render it prudent to recall the brigade out of their reach; and accordingly, just as the brave Colonel Macan was in the act of leading on his men for the fourth time to the charge, orders were received to rejoin the main body. (c.)

While the perilous contest was thus raging, with indexible energy on the part of the assailants, and no less determined fury on that of the enemy, the British infantry, who had been left behind with orders to follow at an early hour in the morning, evinced their spirit and eagerness to share in the toils and glory of the day, by marching with such celerity as to arrive on the banks of the rivulet by noon. From the great exertions made by this division of the service to reach the scene of action in due time, it was requisite that they should take a short rest and some refreshment, after a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles, under a burning sun: yet such was the effect of their presence upon the enemy, that a message was sent to the commander-in-chief with an offer of surrendering all their guns upon certain conditions; to which a favourable answer was returned. But though, for the sake of suffering humanity, and to prevent any further waste of life, the terms proposed were complied with, and an hour granted for the fulfilment of them, preparations were made to renew the combat, and directions issued for a general attack to commence immediately after the expiration of the time limited for the cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, the infantry were formed into two columns on the left (x x), the first composed of the right wing under the

command of Major-General Ware being appointed to attack the village of Mohaulpoor, and to turn the right flank of the enemy (z), which ever since the morning had been thrown back, thereby concentrating their entire force round that place which was strongly fortified. Their infantry, formed into two lines, were defended in front by a numerous train of artillery, having the cavalry on their right, and their left appuyed on Mohaulpoor. The second column of the British infantry, forming the left wing, under Major-General St. John, was directed to support the first column, while the cavalry (zz) drew the attention of the enemy to the hostile demonstration in front, which threatened their left. The third brigade of cavalry, under Colonel Macan, received instructions to support the infantry; while Lieutenant-Colonel John Vandeleur, with the second brigade, was detached to the right of our line, in order, by watching the motions of the enemy, to take advantage of any confusion that might occur among them, and in case of a retreat to attack them with vigour. The reserve, composed of the first brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel T. P. Vandeleur, was formed between the second and third brigades; while as many field pieces as could be brought up, together with the galloper guns (fff) attached to the cavalry, formed four distinct batteries for the support of the operations of the infantry.

Such was the disposition of our force, and the plan of attack drawn up in the interval allowed for the performance of the conditions of surrender proposed by the enemy; on whose failure to fulfil what they had promised, the British infantry proceeded without delay to discharge the important trust reposed in them, marching along the banks

of the rivulet under cover of the high grass, and amidst the broke
ground that for some time concealed their advance. As soon, how
ever, as they were discerned, and it was ascertained that their objec
was to turn the flank of the enemy, the latter instantly threw bac
their right wing (e), under cover of heavy discharges of artiller
against the head of our column, which suffered considerably. A
the same time our four batteries began to play with no les
vigour; and the whole continued to advance during this tremen
dous cannonade, in spite of the vast superiority both in number
and weight of metal of the enemy's artillery, which was uncom
monly well served; showers of grape being poured upon the assailan
from large mortars, as well as from guns of heavy calibre. Th
effect of this fire, which was terrible in the extreme, was felt wit
peculiar severity by the seventy-sixth regiment, which fine bo
by heading the attack, as usual became the direct object
destruction. So great indeed was the loss of this corps, and such
the furious fire of the enemy, that the commander-in-chief deemed
more adviseable to hasten the attack with that regiment, and those
the native infantry, consisting of the second battalion of the twelft
and five companies of the sixteenth, which had closed to the f
than to wait till the remainder of the column should be formed
whose advance had been much delayed by unavoidable impediment
When this judicious resolution was adopted, and the gallant ban
came within reach of the enemy's canister shot, such a tempestuo
shower poured in upon them from the whole train of artillery
would have been sufficient to put a stop to any farther advance; bu
though the loss on our side was most severe, and though at this cri

moment the cavalry of the enemy attempted to charge, the stedfastness of British valour was displayed in a remarkable manner, by the repulse given on the part of our infantry to this formidable shock. As, however, the enemy's horse rallied at a short distance, with a manifest disposition to renew their attempt, General Lake judged it prudent to order an attack to be made upon them in turn from the British cavalry, which service being entrusted to His Majesty's twenty-ninth regiment of dragoons, was performed with such alacrity and success as to obtain the warmest acknowledgments from the commander-in-chief, who bestowed unqualified praise upon all the officers and privates of that corps. This regiment, which had previously moved along the banks of the rivulet, in order to support the main attack, halted for that purpose in a hollow immediately behind our battery, the fire from which naturally occasioned so violent a one in return, as to render their situation exceedingly trying; for, though partly concealed from the view of the enemy, the shot rolled and ploughed up the ground in every direction among our ranks, with the most mischievous effect. While in this position, which was rendered more painful by the necessity of waiting in a state of passive endurance, the gallant Major Griffiths was killed, on whose loss the command devolved upon Captain Wade. At length, however, the welcome order arrived for the regiment to charge; which injunction was no sooner given, than it was as promptly obeyed, and the troops galloped out of the narrow passage (*n*) where they had been so perilously posted, by files, as the ground would not admit of a larger front.

On forming up on the outer flank of the seventy-sixth regiment

the cavalry were greeted with three cheers, which gratulatory sound was as heartily re-echoed by the dragoons, on whose sudden appearance the enemy's horse, (*i*) after having advanced to charge our infantry, made a precipitate retreat. An awful pause of breathless expectation now ensued; the numerous artillery of the enemy seeming to watch an opportune moment to frustrate the meditated attack, by pouring destruction upon their assailants. The affecting interest of the scene was heightened by the narrow escape of the commander-in-chief, whose charger having been shot under him, his gallant son, Major George Lake, while in the act of tendering his own horse to the general was wounded by his side. This touching incident had a sympathetic effect upon the minds of all that witnessed it, and diffused an enthusiastic fervour among the troops, who appeared to be inspired by it with more than an ordinary portion of heroic ardour. The cavalry trumpet now sounded to the charge, and though it was instantly followed by the thundering roar of a hundred pieces of cannon, which drowned every other call but the instinctive sense of duty, the whole, animated with one spirit, rushed into the thickest of the battle. The twenty-ninth, now the twenty-fifth regiment of dragoons, (*k*) pierced with the impetuosity of lightning through both lines of the enemy's infantry, in the face of a most tremendous fire of grape shot, and a general volley of musketry. This advantage was followed up instantly by our veteran chief, who, at the head of the seventy-sixth regiment, supported by the twelfth, fifteenth, and a detachment of the sixteenth regiment of native infantry, seized the guns (*a*) from which the enemy had just been driven. The twenty-ninth dragoons, after this achievement, made a wheel to the left (*a k*) to charge the enemy's

horse, (*i*) who had assumed a menacing posture; and after completely routing and pursuing them to the pass through the hills, our cavalry fell upon the rear of the main body, and entirely cut off their retreat. During these rapid operations, the infantry still continuing to press forward, (*k*) routed the enemy against whom they were opposed, and succeeded in driving them towards a small mosque in the rear of the village, about which they were met, and charged by the British cavalry in various directions (*l m n*). The remainder of the first column of our infantry came up just in time to join in the attack of the reserve of the enemy, which was formed in the rear of their first line. At this period of the battle, Major-General Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon shot. He was an excellent officer, and his loss was severely felt and deeply lamented by the whole army. After his death, the command of this column devolved upon Colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, continued in the exercise of the important trust with the utmost judgment, activity, and intrepidity, till the close of the action.

The enemy persisted with determined obstinacy in defending their position to the last, contending every point inch by inch, and refusing to give way till they had lost the whole of their guns; and even then, when their situation was become desperate, they still continued to manifest the same courageous disposition, their left wing endeavouring to effect their retreat in good order; but this attempt was frustrated by the twenty-seventh regiment of dragoons, and the sixth regiment of native cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Vandeleur of the eighth light dragoons, who broke into their column,

cut many to pieces, and captured the rest, with the whole of the baggage.

The loss sustained by the British army in accomplishing this victory was great, amounting to about eight hundred in killed and wounded; but that of the enemy far exceeded it; for, with the exception of two thousand who surrendered themselves prisoners, the whole of their seventeen battalions were destroyed, so that the dead alone on the field of battle could hardly have been less than seven thousand men. Though some of their cavalry were enabled by the fleetness of their horses and local knowledge to escape destruction, the rest, except those who had the good fortune to conceal themselves among the bazar people, were numbered with the slain.

Abajee, the commander of the Mahratta army, abandoned the field on an elephant richly caparisoned, which, on finding himself closely pressed by the British dragoons, he relinquished, and mounting a swift horse, succeeded in getting off, as our men were unable from the exhausted state of their horses to continue the pursuit.

The battle, which terminated at four o'clock, gave to the victors the whole of the enemy's bazars, with the camp equipage and baggage, a considerable number of elephants, camels, and above sixteen hundred bullocks; seventy-two pieces of cannon, five thousand stand of arms, forty-four stands of colours, sixty-four tumbrils laden with ammunition, and three with money, besides fifty-seven carts containing stores of various descriptions. The militaryapparatus and supplies were of prime quality; and the ordnance in particular, with the exception of nine guns, was in excellent state, and perfectly serviceable. From the commencement of the conflict early

in the morning with the British cavalry, to the close of the general action in the evening, the enemy discovered a firmness of resolution and contempt of death, which could not fail to command the admiration of their opponents, whose energies in the struggle were strained to the utmost, though nothing could repress their ardour, or withstand the impetus of their united exertions.

The seventeen battalions with whom our army were engaged constituted the flower of Scindiah's establishment; and by way of pre-eminent distinction, were characterized as the "Deccan Invincibles." Their total overthrow therefore completed the humiliation of this formidable Mahratta chief, by depriving him of that power which his military superiority, with the aid of the French force, enabled him to maintain in Hindoostan.

Throughout this eventful war, indeed, every conflict gave evidence of the improvement made by the natives in military knowledge, through their connexion with the French, whose abilities were exercised to the utmost in exasperating the chiefs against the English, and in forming their subjects into hardy and disciplined soldiers, with the view of thereby overthrowing our dominion in the east. On the present occasion the effect of this influence and instruction was fully experienced in the organization of the army of Scindiah, which evinced all the characteristics of European arrangement and discipline. Considering, therefore, the advantages possessed by the enemy in the choice of ground, the nature of their appointments, the magnitude of their numbers compared with the British who were actually engaged, and the benefit which natural courage derives from regular training, this victory acquires a degree of glory not exceeded by

the achievements of a more imposing splendour. But the lustre of the action becomes still greater, when the privations and efforts of the British troops are contemplated and appreciated with a due regard to the circumstances and climate where their services were displayed. The cavalry, after marching forty-two miles in less than twenty-four hours, were hotly engaged with the whole force of the enemy, from sun-rise till near sun-set; and of so pressing a nature was this trying service, that the horses were actually without food or water for the space of twenty hours. On coming up with the enemy, they were called into immediate exercise, and continued it, with little cessation, under very painful disadvantages, till the arrival of the infantry, who also had undergone extraordinary fatigue and hardship, in forced marches of sixty-five miles in forty-eight hours. Though in the latter part of the day the scene of action became in some measure more favourable to the operations of the cavalry, their labours were not lessened, nor was the perilous nature of them abated, having to support the gallant seventy-sixth regiment, who, with the rest of the infantry, were, notwithstanding their persevering valour, exposed to imminent danger from the shock of the enemy's numerous horse, and the tremendous discharges of their artillery.

Where all did their duty, as though each individual anticipated victory from his personal exertions, it would appear invidious to notice distinctive merits, especially when it is considered that through every part of this memorable day they who were engaged had the stimulating example of the commander-in-chief to animate them in the conflict. To his experienced judgment, superior skill, and determined bravery, must the victory be primarily ascribed; for, while by his resolute firmness he

astonished the foe, the recollection of what he had recently accomplished at Coel, Allyghur, Delhi, and Agra, embarrassed them, and inspired his own troops with confidence. In the morning, His Excellency led the cavalry to an onset which was rendered peculiarly dreadful from the immense disparity of force with which he had to contend, and in the afternoon he advanced at the head of the seventy-sixth regiment, with whom he conducted all the attacks that were made on the enemy's line and on their reserve, posted in and about the fortified village of Mohaulpoor. During the day he had two horses killed under him, and the shot showered around him continually with the utmost fury, spreading death in every direction. Amidst this awful storm, the general preserved his wonted calmness; and steady to his purpose, directed the measures which he had planned without the least discomposure, availing himself of every advantage, by which he could profit, in the movements of the enemy, and frustrating all their attempts with admirable promptitude and presence of mind. The masterly plans of attack which he had formed were carried instantaneously into execution, under his own immediate guidance, in the face of dangers which menaced destruction, and surrounded by difficulties that almost appeared insurmountable. Under such circumstances, and perpetually exposed as he was to the whole rage of the battle in every stage of the contest, his escape from death may justly be considered as having the complexion of miraculous. Of the providential interposition in his favour, a particular instance may here be recorded. One of the enemy, watching an opportunity, placed a matchlock close to the side of the general; but just as the fellow discharged the piece, the object of his aim happened to turn

involuntarily, when the contents passed under his arm, without doing any other injury than that of burning his coat.

But among the trials which exercised the fortitude of this excellent man on that day, the most distressing was the accident that befell his gallant son, Major Lake, of the ninety-fourth regiment, who attended his father in the capacity of aid-de-camp and military secretary throughout the whole campaign. In that part of the battle, of which an account has already been detailed, while the commander-in-chief was leading on his troops against the enemy, his horse fell under him, after being pierced by several shot; upon which his son instantly dismounted, and urged his father to accept the horse which he rode. This was at first refused, but after some entreaty, the general was prevailed upon to comply; when, just as the major had mounted another horse belonging to one of the troopers, he received a severe wound from a cannon shot in the presence of his father, whose agonized feelings at such a moment may be more easily imagined than described. It was, indeed, an awful moment; but parental affection was suspended for a while by the sense of public duty, and the general proceeded with unrelaxed vigour in the prosecution of the great object that was paramount to all others; after accomplishing which, and remaining master of the field, he had the consolation to find that his brave and affectionate son, though severely wounded, was likely to do well, and prove an ornament to his country. This valuable young man did, indeed, realize the confidence of his father; but, unfortunately, after unfolding the blossoms of heroism, under the fond eye of his veteran parent, and giving the promise of future greatness, he fell at the storming of the heights of Roleia in Portugal, on the seventeenth of August, 1808.

The setting sun, after this busy and sanguinary day, presented a spectacle to the beholder calculated to agitate his mind with a variety of emotions; for while he could not but feel grateful at the result of the conflict, and exult in the laurels which rewarded the victors, his sympathy was awakened in contemplating the extensive plain covered with the bodies of the dead, and hearing on all sides the groans of the wounded and the dying. This terrific picture was heightened by successive explosions of powder magazines and tumbrils of ammunition, which shook the atmosphere, and obscured the horizon with tremendous clouds of sulphureous smoke. If any thing could add to such a scene of woe, it was the approach of a murky night, indicating an hurricane, that came on with furious rapidity, till it spread an indescribable degree of horror over the blood-stained field.

On the arrival of the camp equipage, which was not till late in the evening, the victorious troops pitched their tents near the rivulet between the village of Laswaree and that of Imporah or Singrah. A battalion of infantry took charge of the prisoners who were collected together at the village of Sagepoorah, lying about midway between the British camp and the ill-fated village of Mohaulpoor, which, from its situation, in the midst of the fury of the battle, was now reduced to ashes. Shortly afterwards the commander-in-chief liberated all the prisoners, with the exception of the principal officers, amounting to forty-eight, whom he thought it prudent still to retain.

Of the importance of this victory, and the service by which it was achieved, the following extracts from the general orders issued on the fourth of November at the camp of Laswaree will afford a clear idea.

"The commander-in-chief congratulates the army on the brilliant

result of the action of the first instant, although his Excellency must ever lament the loss of so many brave men and officers.

"The superiority of numbers, aided by a strong position, and a most formidable artillery, which they had to encounter after a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles, were circumstances to have discouraged an army less brave, more particularly when the obstinate and determined resistance of the enemy is considered.

"While his Excellency offers his best thanks and acknowledgments to the whole of the army engaged, he feels it a tribute to justice to express the warmest thanks and gratitude to Colonel Macan, Captain Wade, Captain Elliot, and the officers and men of His Majesty's twenty-ninth dragoons, and fourth native cavalry; to Major M'Leod, and to the officers and men of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, for the conspicuous gallantry which they displayed; and to Colonel Mc'Donald, Lieutenant Colonel White, and the officers and men of the sixteenth regiment; and to Major Gregory, and the officers and men of the second battalion of the twelfth regiment, for their timely and gallant support of the seventy-sixth. On this, as on every former occasion, his Excellency beheld with admiration the heroic behaviour of the seventy-sixth regiment, whose gallantry must ever leave a lasting impression of gratitude on his mind.

"His Excellency's best thanks and acknowledgments are due to the whole of the cavalry who were engaged on the morning of the first instant, for the intrepidity and courage they displayed. The cavalry gallopers were served in a manner to reflect great credit on the officers in charge of them, and the men who managed them."

Of the former, who distinguished themselves in the command of

batteries of gallopers, the names of Lieutenant Wallace of the twenty-seventh dragoons, and Lieutenant Dixon of the sixth regiment native cavalry, are particularly noticed in his Excellency's official despatch which closes with the following well-merited tribute of applause.

"The whole of my staff upon this, as upon every former occasion are entitled to a large share of praise, and to my warmest gratitude. The zeal which they displayed upon this memorable day is too plainly proved by the enclosed returns of the killed and wounded. I have sustained a great loss by the death of Major William Campbell, the deputy quarter-master general, and by that of my aid-de-camp Lieutenant Duval, of His Majesty's nineteenth dragoons, who was a young man of great promise."

Colonel Macan in conveying to the officers and men of His Majesty's twenty-ninth dragoons, and fourth native cavalry, the high encomium bestowed upon them by the commander-in-chief, was pleased to express at the same time his own warmest thanks for their great gallantry that day, the alacrity and zeal which they all showed in following his orders, and the great steadiness and coolness with which they advanced to the charge, under a destructive fire of grape. The gallant brigadier also requested Mr. Lyss and Mr Newman, surgeons of the twenty-ninth dragoons, to accept his best thanks for their humane and successful exertions in bringing off the wounded, though with the greatest personal risk to themselves, and in affording the natives, as well as the Europeans, every assistance in their power.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

In the Action of the First of November, 1803.

| | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | HORSES. | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

List of Officers Killed and Wounded in the Action of the first of November, 1803.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
General Staff.	Major-General Charles Ware. Major W. Campbell, Deputy Quarter-Master-Genl. Lieut. Duval, Aid-de-Camp.	Lieut. Col. Gerard, Adjut.-Gen. Major G. A. F. Lake, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. Capt. J. Campbell, Agt. attached to Head Quarters. Lieut. Ashhurst, commanding the Escort with His Excellency.
H. M. 8th Lt. Drgs.	Colonel T. P. Vandeleur. Captain Story.	Lieut. Lindon, since dead. Lieut. Wellard.
H. M. 27th Lt. Drs.	.....	Capt. White. Capt. Mylne. Capt. Sandys. Lieut. Gore, Major of Brigd.
H. M. 29th Lt. Drs.	Major Griffith. Cornet Fitzgerald. Quarter-Master Philby. Ditto M'Gough.	Capt. Sloane. Lieut. Halsted, since dead. Lieut. Thora[illegible] Quarter-Mas[illegible]
1st. Rt. Nat. Cavalry.	Cornet Coxwell.	Lieut. Cora[illegible]
4th Regt. ditto.	.....	Lieut. Reed
6th Regt. ditto.	.....	Cornet Dix[illegible]
H. M. 76th Regt.	Lieut. and Adjut. Meath. Lieut. Hurd.	Capt. Robertson. Lieut. Marston. Ditto Weber. Ditto Sinclair.
1st. B. 15th Rt. Nat. I.	Lieut. Lambert.	Col. M'Donald.
1st. B. 12th do. do.		Ensign Dalton.
2nd. B. 12th do. do.	.....	Major Gregory. Capt. Fletcher. Lieut. Ryan.
2nd. B. 10th do. do.	.....	Lieut.-Col.-White. Ensign G. Deane Heathcote.

Report of the Ordnance, &c. captured at Lauvaree, on the first of November, 1803.

1 Brass eighteen-pounder carronade.
6 Ditto sixteen-ditto ditto.
26 Ditto six-pounders.
4 Ditto four-ditto.
16 Ditto three-ditto.
1 Ditto two-and-a-half ditto.
2 Iron sixteen-ditto.
2 Ditto two-and-a-half ditto gallopers.
2 Ditto one-and-a-half ditto ditto.
2 Brass eight-inch mortars.
1 Brass eight-inch howitzer.
4 Ditto six-ditto ditto.
1 Ditto five-eight ditto ditto.
1 Ditto five-four ditto ditto.
4 Ditto five-two ditto ditto.

[illegible] pieces of cannon of different calibres, the whole mounted on field carriages, with limbers and traces complete.

Sixty-four Tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition, forty-four stand of colours, and five thousand stand of arms.

The number of tumbrils blown up on the field of battle could not be ascertained.

The iron guns were of European manufacture. The brass guns

mortars, and howitzers, were cast in India, one Dutch six-pounder excepted. The dimensions were, in general, those of the French; the mortars and howitzers being furnished with elevating screws, made by a simple and ingenious adjustment, to give either of them the double capacity of mortar and howitzer. The ammunition was made up in the same manner as that taken at Delhi.

There were also found on the field fifty-seven carts, or hackeries, laden with matchlocks, muskets, and stores, besides twelve artificers' carts.

On the eighth of November the army left the blood-stained fields of Laswaree, where the air, from the number of dead carcases of men and beasts, had become highly offensive. After several days of easy marches, proceeding very leisurely back the same way we came, we reached Paiashur on the thirteenth, and the day following, the sick and wounded, with the captured guns, were sent off to Agra. The army halted here a fortnight, during which time the fame of the recent victory having spread in every direction, the rajahs, both near and distant, from the Jumna to the Indus, rejoiced in the opportunity which it gave them of throwing off the Mahratta yoke, and eagerly sought the protection of the British.

On the fourteenth, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded by the commander-in-chief with the Rajah of Macherry, or [illegible] Rajah, whose possessions are bounded on the south and w[illegible] territory of the Rajah of Jeypoor, and on the east by th[illegible] Rajah of Bhurtpore. His capital or strong hold is Alvar; and from the local situation and resources of this chief, he had it in his power to impede or repel every future incursion of the Mahrattas in the northern parts of Hindoostan.

A treaty of defensive alliance with the Rajepoot Rajahs Jeypoor and Joodpour was also concluded; which connexion w very important, in as much as it accomplished that part of the politic system which had for its object the exclusion of the Mahratta pow from the northern part of Hindoostan. A similar treaty was also co cluded with the Begum Sumroo, whose troops, consisting of fo battalions, two thousand strong, joined our army in the month December, after a long and difficult march from the Deccan.

Vakeels, from the Ranah of Soudipoor, and the Rajah of Kot likewise arrived in camp soon after, for the purpose of contracting friendly connexion with the British government; but the peace wi Scindiah intervening, before the conclusion of the treaty with th chiefs, the negotiations were suspended. During our stay here, Vakeel, sent by the Mogal emperor, arrived in camp, bearing a ki laut, or dress of honour, from his majesty to General Lake, and wa congratulations on the important victory of Laswaree. Desirous of ceiving this high mark of distinction in a manner that should at same time make a general impression in favour of the British arms, a [illegible] for the emperor, General Lake ordered a tent to be pitch [illegible] camp, for the reception of the ambassad [illegible] he morning of the sixteenth, attended [illegible] troop from each of the dragoon regimen [illegible] gratulations and the dress sent by [illegible] General returned his public acknowledgme to the emperor, and testified the high sense he entertained of honour conferred on him, which highly pleased and gratified ambassador, and all the Mussulmans who beheld the ceremony.

The army changed ground on the twenty-seventh of November to the front and right, and after marching about eight miles, encamped at Helena, where we again halted. Three days after this a reinforcement under Captain Wigerland, consisting of the flank companies of the honourable company's first European regiment, and the recovered men of His Majesty's eighth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth dragoons, and seventy-sixth regiment, joined the army from Cawnpore and Agra. The dismounted men from the three dragoon regiments in camp were now formed into a regular battalion of infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod.

On the seventh of December, the army marched by the left, and encamped the next day at Pooroo, near Cuskah, and on the ninth near Canoare, where we halted on the tenth; on which day Runjeet Sing, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, paid his first visit to the commander-in-chief. His Excellency and staff went a few miles to meet him on elephants, escorted by a troop from each of the dragoon regiments. Runjeet Sing is the son of the celebrated Souraj-Mul, chief of the still powerful nation of the Jauts. The Rajah, who appeared to be an elderly little man, was dressed very plain, but his attendants were numerous; and after giving and receiving some trifling presents, he returned to his capital, a place since become famous throughout India for its obstinate defence against that very power, under whose protection the rajah's dominions enjoyed every security, till treason and conspiracy, on the part of this chief, forced the British to turn their arms against him, as the ally of our bitterest enemy.

The country all round here is very well cultivated, and abounds in game and beasts of prey, such as tigers, bears, hares, jackalls,

and antelopes, among which last tribe may be mentioned the nylghau, or blue cow, as the orientals improperly term this beautiful animal. The nylghau, however, which in reality belongs to the class of antelopes, is exceedingly swift, and therefore the hunting of it in some parts of the east has been long exclusively confined, under the denomination of royal game, for the amusement of sovereign princes.

On the twelfth the army marched by the left, crossed a nullah, and encamped at Nahmeda, where we halted till the twenty-third; two days previous to which the following address was presented by the committee appointed for that purpose to His Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

"We, the officers of the British Indian army, who have had the honour of serving under your Excellency's personal command during the present campaign, impressed with sentiments of high respect towards your Excellency, and admiration of those exalted talents by which we have been led to a series of brilliant victories, confirming the superiority of the British arms in this remote quarter of the globe, and yielding to us a soldier's best reward, the approbation of government, beg leave to request your Excellency's acceptance of a service of plate of the value of four thousand pounds, in testimony of our attachment and esteem.

"Zealously devoted to the service of our king, our country, and the government under which we have the honour to serve, it only remains for us to express our sincere and ardent hope that we may long enjoy the advantage of being placed under your Excellency's guidance and command; and that wherever the interests of the state

require our services, inspired by your animating example, and cherished by your applause, we may continue to follow you to victory and renown.

"We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, on behalf of the army, Your Excellency's

Very faithful, obedient, and devoted servants."

(Signed by the Committee.)

To this address His Excellency returned the following very flattering answer.

"To the committee of officers appointed by the army to present an address to His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief.

"Gentlemen,

"I receive with sentiments of the most lively gratitude the valuable testimony of the esteem and attachment of the army with which they have honoured me.

"This mark of regard is peculiarly flattering from the officers of an army whose meritorious services throughout this campaign must ever entitle them to the highest respect and honour.

"In the hour of severe trial, next to that Providence who protects us, I have trusted to the invincible firmness, steady support, and unexampled gallantry of my army; and the distinguished success which has in every instance crowned our exertions has fully justified my entire confidence and firm reliance.

"I shall with pride and pleasure reflect upon those situations in

which we have together maintained the honour of our king and the glory of our country.

"The possession of this valuable testimony of your attachment will serve to awaken those sentiments of esteem, gratitude, and affection, which are already too deeply imprinted on my mind ever to be forgotten.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
With respect and esteem,
Your obliged and humble servant,
(Signed) G. LAKE."

Head Quarters, British Army,
Camp Nahmada, December 21st, 1803.

On the same day marched a detachment, consisting of the first battalion of the fourteenth regiment, and the detachment of the sixteenth regiment, with a proportion of artillery, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel White, towards Gwalior, in Bundelcund, the military operations in which province, as connected with, and under the immediate guidance and direction of the commander-in-chief, claim our next attention, while we leave the army under his Excellency's personal command to occupy a position near Biana, opposite the pass leading into the Jeypoor Rajah's dominions, and where it remained from the twenty-seventh of December, 1803, to the ninth of February in the following year.

CHAPTER VII.

Operations in Bundelcund.—Deed of Cession of that Province by the Paishwah.—Junction of the British Forces under Colonel Powell with those of Himmut Behauder.—Defeat of Shumsheer Behauder.—Capture of Calpee.—Submission of Shumsheer Behauder.—Alliance with the Subahdar of Jansi.—Treaty with Ambajee.—Duplicity of that Chieftain.—Capture of Gwalior.—Line of Defence from Mirzapore to Midnapore.—Colonel Broughton's Expedition to the Eastern Provinces of Berar.

THE possession of Bundelcund formed the third great object in the plan of operations confided to the management of the commander-in chief. This province, which lies between the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, from its mountainous character and natural strength, may be denominated the Switzerland of India. To the British government it became a very desirable acquisition on account of its proximity to our territories, which were continually exposed to the inroads of the Mahrattas or other invaders; as long as the country remained under the nominal sovereignty of the Paishwah, who was himself so far from deriving any benefit from it, that his governors and generals neither regarded his interest, nor paid any respect to his authority. The proposition for an exchange, therefore, was on all accounts most favourable to his highness, because it not only relieved him from an unproductive appendage, but gave him in lieu of it many substantial advantages. By the treaty of Bassein, his hereditary dominions and dependencies stood charged with some heavy incumbrances, as well to clear the expenses incurred by the war

that effected his restoration, as to defend his territories and personal independence from the designs of his turbulent neighbours. These subsidies were large, but not more than the occasion required; and, considering the magnitude of the services rendered by the English to relieve the Paishwah from his oppressors, this overture to relinquish valuable possessions, and to liquidate large debts, for a territory, which power might have seized and craft retained, was an equal proof of sincerity and liberality. That it was so felt by the Paishwah is evident, from the supplement to the treaty of Bassein, in which the cession of the territory in Bundelcund, lying next to the possessions of the company, is clearly defined, and the specific conditions as explicitly stated. According to these articles, the Paishwah gave up his title to the country in question, and all authority within the same to the British government, which, on its side, fully discharged the claims expressed in the preceding treaty upon the Paishwah and his dependants, not only for services already performed, but for expenses then actually incurring in the maintenance of the auxiliary forces employed at Poonah for the general defence.

On the ratification of this agreement, orders were sent by the persons appointed by the Paishwah to the officers acting under him in the province, enjoining them to surrender the ceded territory to the British government, according to the stipulated conditions. The Rajah Himmut Behauder, one of the principal of these chieftains, readily complied with the injunction which he had received, and entered into an agreement with Mr. Mercer, the English agent, for the due fulfilment of the treaty. Shumsheer Behauder, however, another chief, who claimed a portion of Bundelcund, partly in right of conquest, and partly by

his descent from the first Paishwah, resisted the mandate, and prepared to hold possession of that portion of the province which he occupied by force of arms. Hostilities having thus become indispensable, a detachment of British troops assembled at Allahabad, under Lieutenant-Colonel Powell of the Bengal establishment, crossed the Jumna on the sixth of September, 1803, and on the fourteenth entered the province of Bundelcund, where it was joined by Himmut Behauder at the head of eight thousand irregular infantry, about four thousand horse, three regular battalions commanded by an European officer, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance.

The united forces on the twenty-third of September reached the banks of the River Cane, where they found the troops of Shumsheer Behauder strongly posted on the opposite side. This river runs nearly in a north and south direction by the fort of Callinger, through the province of Bundelcund, and falls into the Jumna a little below the town of Corah.

Having reduced several forts in the vicinity of his camp, and fixed the British territory between the Jumna and the Cane, Colonel Powell, accompanied by Himmut Behauder, crossed the latter river on the tenth of October; and finding that Shumsheer Behauder was determined to risk an engagement, the necessary arrangements were made for meeting him. At half past ten o'clock the British detachment, after a fatiguing march of six hours over a very uneven country, came in sight of Shumsheer's army, drawn out in line of battle near Capsah, and their camp all struck. As their line, which covered a great extent, was advantageously posted, and appeared advancing, there was every expectation of a general action. The British moved forward in

columns of battalions within twelve hundred yards of the enemy, when Lieutenant-Colonel Powell deployed into line with an intention of advancing in that form as far as the ground would permit; but just as the line had formed, a gun of Rajah Himmut Behauder's was fired, which being mistaken for the signal to open our guns, a cannonade immediately commenced. After five minutes firing, however, the guns were again limbered in consequence of heavy ploughed fields, which rendered it impossible to get them along by the drag-ropes; but having advanced five hundred yards more, the firing recommenced.

The enemy had till now continued playing upon our line, though with little or no effect; and as soon as the cannon opened a second time, those of the enemy ceased firing, upon which our guns were again limbered, and the whole line advanced as fast as possible, when Shumsheer's army began to retire. Colonel Powell then ordered Captain Webber to pursue the fugitives with the squadron of cavalry and galloper, and five hundred of Himmut Behauder's horse: after riding three miles, they got within reach of their object with the galloper, which opened upon a body of fifteen hundred men with great effect, when they continued to retreat, but with too great a speed for their pursuers to come up with them. Our loss did not exceed ten natives killed and wounded; but amongst the casualties was Captain Farley Smith, who was killed by the first cannon shot from the enemy. The Rajah Himmut Behauder had seventeen men and sixteen horses killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained: they who escaped after this action crossed the river Betwah, which joins the Jumna a little below Calpee, and running in a south-west direction, touches the western extremity

the province of Bundelcund, near the town of Behut, in about twenty-five degrees north latitude, and seventy-eight east longitude. In the meantime, Shumsheer Behauder expressed his friendly dispositions towards the British government, and a desire to form an intimate connexion with it on the basis of the treaty that had been recently concluded with the Paishwah for the cession of the province. Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the business was protracted for two months by the indecision of this chieftain, who, having at last fixed the time of his arrival in the British camp, suddenly broke off the negotiation, and retired to some distance from the position occupied by Colonel Powell, who now resumed offensive operations, by attacking Calpee, situate on the south-west side of the Jumna. On the refusal of the killedar, or commandant, to surrender, a battery of two eighteen pounders and one howitzer was constructed within two hundred yards of the fort, upon which a heavy fire commenced a little after daylight on the fourth of December, 1803, and continued till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the garrison yielded, and marched out with their arms and private property.

The only casualties attending this capture consisted of Captain D. M'Leod of the second battalion of the eleventh regiment of native infantry, and one sepoy wounded. The town was immediately occupied by a detachment of the British troops to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who had, indeed, sufficient cause to rejoice in a change by which they were likely to be great gainers, this place being the entrepot for the transportation of cotton from the western and southern provinces to the company's territories. Their late chief, Nana Govind Row, one of the dependants on the government of the

Paishwah, was so imprudent as to join his forces to those of Shumsheer Behauder, in consequence of which he sustained the loss of his territory, though afterwards he had abundant experience of British generosity in the restoration of the whole of it, even without the exception of his share, amounting to one-third of the diamond mines of Panaak, which had long been committed to his care by the Paishwah, and the annual value of which, in the time of Akbar, amounted to eight lacs of rupees.

On the twelfth of December Colonel Powell was joined by a brigade of native infantry, having European officers, and commanded by an Englishman named Shepherd, who quitted the service of Mahajee, conformably to the proclamation issued on the third of August by the governor-general. This brigade was instantly taken into the pay of the British government, and employed with advantage by Colonel Powell in establishing and maintaining tranquillity in the interior of Bundelcund, where British troops could not conveniently be employed.

This uninterrupted success in the district of Calper, and the countries on the north-western frontiers of Bundelcund, added to the frequent desertions of his troops, and the defection of his principal officers, soon reduced the affairs of Shumsheer Behauder to a state that left him nothing to hope but in the generosity of the formidable power, whose resentment he had so unjustifiably provoked. Little claim, however, as he had to favour, this chief experienced on the present occasion an act of magnanimity which could not fail to make a strong impression upon his own feelings, and those of his neighbours. Captain Baillie, who had succeeded Mr. Mercer as the political

agency of these parts, addressed Shumsheer Behauder a letter, pledging for the British government and the Paishwah to settle upon him and his family the annual sum of four lacs of rupees. This liberality, which so greatly exceeded what the object of it had any right to expect, produced the desired effect, and Shumsheer Behauder, on the eighteenth of January, 1804, arrived at the British camp, where he was received with suitable marks of respectful attention.

The submission of this chief was quickly followed by the surrender of all the forts in the province of Bundelcund that were held by his adherents. But another example, still more honourable in itself, and no less advantageous to the interests of the English company, was set several days previous to the arrival of Shumsheer Behauder by the Soubahdar of Jansi, who visited the camp with a pacific view, and entered into a treaty, which received the entire approbation of the commander-in-chief and governor-general in council. The troops of the Soubahdar were afterwards employed to co-operate in the defence of Bundelcund and the districts lying immediately adjacent to the territory of Jansi. Among other chiefs in this part of the country who were induced to follow the example of the Soubahdar, in acknowledging the sovereignty of the British government, was Ambajee Inglia, under whose exclusive authority Scindiah had placed a considerable portion of his estates in Hindoostan, including the ancient possessions of the Rana of Gohud.

Ambajee, in the month of October, made an offer to renounce his dependence upon Scindiah, and to become tributary to the English on certain conditions; in consequence of which, after many subterfuges on his part, a treaty was concluded with this chief the sixteenth of De-

cember, 1803. By virtue of this agreement, all the lands in the possession of Ambajee, situate northward of Gwalior, and including that fortress, were ceded to the British government, which, on its side, secured to him the independent sovereignty of the remaining territory that had been under his dominion, with the exception of the hereditary estates of the Rana of Gohud, who had obtained a guarantee of the same for himself and his family in a treaty of prior date. But though agreeably to good faith, and the principles of sound policy, this demand of Ambajee could not be complied with, he received the pledge of an ample indemnification for the loss in some other part of Bundelcund.

Conformably to this treaty, the commander-in-chief detached, on the twenty-first of December, a corps under Lieutenant-Colonel White, to take possession of Gwalior, according to the orders which were given by Ambajee himself to the officer who had the charge of that fortress. The commandant, however, notwithstanding these positive injunctions of his master, refused to give up the place, on which, Colonel White made preparations to occupy the city, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between that and the fort, and also to intimidate the garrison into submission. Although neither the governor-general nor commander-in-chief attributed at first the conduct of the commandant of Gwalior to the treachery of Ambajee their suspicions were soon awakened, and circumstances at last transpired which left no room to doubt the fact that his baseness alone was the cause of the retention of a place, which, according to his own agreement, ought to have been put into our hands without the least hesitation. When the commander-in-chief was apprised of

the refusal of the garrison to deliver up the fortress, he detached on the twenty-seventh of December a considerable reinforcement of infantry, both Europeans and natives, with siege-artillery, to join Colonel White, who was also empowered to call in an additional supply of force from the troops serving in Bundelcund. On being thus strengthened, the colonel opened his batteries against the fort; and on the fourth of February, a breach having been effected, the garrison offered to surrender on condition of receiving a douceur of fifty thousand rupees. This proposal was of course rejected; but another arrangement afterwards took place, by which it was agreed that the garrison should receive the value of certain stores and other articles; in consequence of which, our troops took possession of all the gates the same night; and on the morning of the fifth the place was evacuated.

The acquisition of the important fortress of Gwalior, which commands the entrance to Hindoostan on this side, and defends the frontiers of Gohud, completed the views of the governor-general in respect to this part of his plan of operations for the security of our dominions in India; and the manner in which the measure was carried into effect was no less gratifying to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, whose approbation was expressed in the following general orders, dated at the camp near Surroot, February the tenth, 1804:

"The commander-in-chief has great satisfaction in publishing his high sense of the distinguished services of the detachment employed in the reduction of the fortress of Gwalior, under Lieutenant-Colonel

White. The vigour and judgment displayed by Lieutenant-Colonel White, throughout the whole of this arduous and important service, claims his Excellency's best thanks and warmest approbation.

"The commander-in-chief derives great pleasure from Lieutenant-Colonel White's report of the spirited and meritorious conduct of Lieutenant-Colonels M'Cullock, Ash, and Taylor; of Majors Don and M'Leod; and of the whole of the officers and men of the corps under their respective commands. His Excellency desires Lieutenant-Colonel White to signify to Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cullock, and officers and men of the first battalion of the fourteenth regiment; to Lieutenant-Colonel Ash, and officers and men of the second battalion of the ninth regiment; to Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, and officers and men of the second battalion of the eleventh regiment, Major Don, and officers and men of the second battalion of the eighteenth regiment; Major M'Leod, and officers and men of the European flank companies; and to the officers and men of the detachment of the sixteenth native infantry; his Excellency's cordial thanks and approbation of the spirit and zeal which they manifested upon this occasion, and of the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they submitted to severe labour and fatigue.

"To Captain Wood of the Engineers, his Excellency feels greatly obliged for the judgment he evinced in the choice of the place of attack, and for the skill with which the works were constructed.

"The commander-in-chief is particularly happy to notice the valuable services of the artillery employed at Gwalior; and the great effect produced by the fire of the batteries, under circumstances peculiarly unfavourable, reflects the highest credit on the abilities of

Captain Green of the artillery, and on the officers and men under his command."

The fortress of Gwalior, which has ever been considered a military post of great consequence, stands on a very steep hill, about a mile and a half in length, by about three hundred yards across in the broadest part, while its greatest height, which is towards the north, is about three hundred and fifty feet. From its lofty and craggy situation, as well as its artificial strength, this place was formerly looked upon as impregnable, on which account it was made a royal prison for those unfortunate princes of the house of Timur who, according to the spirit of oriental despotism, became objects of jealousy to the reigning sovereign. Aurungzebe, in particular, applied it to a terrible use for the security of the throne, which he had usurped; and many innocent victims of his treachery and ambition either perished here by violence, or lingered out their days in a wretched captivity. Some sort of amusement, indeed, was permitted to these miserable descendants of royalty; and, among the rest, a large menagerie was kept here for their entertainment, containing lions, tigers, and other ferocious animals.

The fort of Gwalior, on account of its position and strength, was selected by Scindiah as his grand depot for artillery, ammunition, and military stores in Hindoostan. The town, which runs along the eastern side of the hill, is large and populous; and the houses are well built of a stone obtained in the neighbourhood, consisting of schistus, with apparently some portion of iron. A considerable trade is carried on here, chiefly of indigo and cloths, the manufacture of Chanderi.

The possession of Calpee on the right bank, with that of Etawah

on the left bank of the Jumna, formed important intermediate stations between Agra and Allahabad, and effectually cut off all hostile communications between the Mahrattas, on the side of Bundelcund, and the disaffected Zemindars in the Doaab, whose turbulent and refractory disposition long kept the southern parts of that country in a state of disquietude. Among these were Heera Sing, the proprietor of the fort of Khair Ghur, who assisted the forces of Fleury in their depredations at Shekoabad. But the most troublesome of all the tributaries was the Rájah Chuttersaul, who held the fort of Tettiah, and the reduction of which cost us dear. After a smart engagement in an unsuccessful attack made on the fort, the thirtieth of September, 1803, by Lieutenant-Colonel Guthrie, with his battalion, in which the colonel and three other officers were wounded, with the loss of about ninety-five sepoys, the rebels evacuated the place in the evening, to which they were induced by the arrival of a reinforcement under Captain Dalston. One of the chief promoters of the disturbance, Chuttersing, was killed with some other leaders, but the Rajah Chuttersaul fled across the Jumna. The other officers wounded on our side, besides Lieutenant-Colonel Guthrie, were Captain Henry, Captain-Lieutenant Delamain, and Lieutenant Craig.

The secure footing obtained in Bundelcund placed a strong point of appuy in that long line of our south-western frontier, from Mirzapore, on the Ganges, to Midnapore, on the frontiers of Cuttack. A detachment of British troops, stationed on the frontier of Rewah, Mukmudpore, after expelling a party of plunderers, who had entered the district of Khyrghur, in the ceded provinces, re-occupied the fort of Choukundee, on that frontier, and the defiles, thereby frus

rating every attempt of the enemy to penetrate by that district into the province of Benares. Nothing, in short, was neglected to establish a regular and vigorous system of defence against every inroad from the Mahratta territory.

The officers to whom this important charge was confided were Major-General Deare and Colonel Fenwick, commanding respectively at Chunar and Midnapore; and the line from the southern extremity of Pacheto to the southern banks of the Soane to Lieutenant-Colonel Broughton. The latter officer was soon enabled, by reinforcements, to change the defensive into offensive operations, and to undertake an expedition in the eastern provinces of Berar. Having made his arrangements for the defence of that part of the frontiers which the advancing detachment must necessarily leave uncovered, he quitted the post he had occupied at the beginning of December. Previous to his passing the limits of the company's possessions, Colonel Broughton was joined by two corps of irregular troops, commanded respectively by Rajah Futteh-Narain-Sing, proprietor of a zemindary in the district of Bahar, and by an adventurer of the name of Bhoop-sing, who had been many years in the service of the Berar Rajah, and who, therefore, by his local information, was likely to be very useful to the British commander, whom these two chiefs accompanied with their troops on his march to Sumbalpore.

The route first chosen being found, on account of its defiles, impracticable for the artillery, Colonel Broughton was obliged to change the direction of his march, and to cut a way for his cannon across a forest of considerable extent.

On the twenty-eighth of December, a body of Mahrattas who had

occupied a post in front of the colonel were put to flight by a party under the command of Lieutenant Higgott; and after a most difficult and fatiguing march through a country which presented innumerable obstacles to the progress of the troops, Colonel Broughton arrived on the thirty-first before the fortress of Sumbalpore, which he immediately summoned to surrender. After a short parley the garrison offered to deliver up the place, with a promise not to serve against the British during the war, on the condition of being suffered to retain their arms and effects, and of receiving protection for themselves and their families from the infuriated resentment of the inhabitants of the country. These terms being acceded to, the fort was evacuated on the evening of the second of January, when, agreeably to his pledge, Colonel Broughton detached a party of troops to conduct the garrison through the province of Sumbalpore; so much were the Mahrattas detested for their violence and oppressions in every district which they overcame and subjected. On the other hand, Colonel Broughton received distinct offers of submission, with every assurance from the chiefs and inhabitants of their friendly disposition towards the British government, and their desire of transferring thereto the homage and fidelity which they had so long reluctantly rendered to the Rajah of Berar.

On the eighth of January, Colonel Broughton detached a company of sepoys, and one thousand irregular troops, under Lieutenant Fountain, to disperse a body of Mahratta troops, which was pillaging the country in the direction of Sonepore. This was completely effected; and by the assistance of the troops of the rajah of the country, the only Mahratta force left between the province of Ruttunpore and that of Cuttack was dispersed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Expedition against Cuttack.—Rendezvous of British Troops at Ganjam.—Colonel Harcourt takes Possession of Jagarnaut.—His Arrival at Cuttack.—The Port of Balasore taken.—March of Colonel Fergusson from Balasore to Cuttack.—Storm and Capture of Fort Barrabuttee.—Subjugation of the Province.—Remarks on the Temple of Jagarnaut.—Occupancy of the Defile of Bermuth, preparatory to the March of the British to co-operate with General Wellesley.

It has been already observed that the occupation of the maritime district of Cuttack, in the province of Orissa, formed a principal part of the general plan of attack against the confederates.

Situated between the British northern and southern dominions of Bengal and the coast of Coromandel, with the sea on the east, and the Mahratta states on the west, it cut off, while in the hands of a hostile power, our communication between Calcutta and Madras, thereby preventing that facility of intercourse between Bengal and the Peninsula which was equally essential to the purposes of government, and necessary for the convenience of commerce. Accordingly, the force destined for this service assembled under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the seventy-fourth regiment at our settlement of Ganam, situate on the sea-coast of the northern circars, about forty-five miles south of the confines of the province of Cuttack.

This force consisted of five hundred and seventy-three Europeans, and two thousand, four hundred, and sixty-eight native infantry and

cavalry, with some artillery: besides which, a body of five hundred Bengal volunteers, commanded by Captain Dick, with a battering train of four eighteen pounder and four twelve pounder iron guns, and two five and a half inch howitzers, with a proportionate supply of ammunition and entrenching tools, &c. were landed from Calcutta at Ganjam, in support of the main division; while another detachment of the same strength, under Captain Morgan, was sent from Calcutta by water to occupy the port of Balasore, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, and distant about twenty-five miles from the river Subanreeka, which there forms the boundary between the British territories and the district of Cuttack.

At the town of Jalasore, situate on the English side of the Subanreeka, twenty miles from the sea, another detachment of seven hundred and seventy sepoys, and eighty-four cavalry, of the governor-general's body guard, were assembled under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, ready to form a junction with the Balasore detachment, when the state of the intermediate country, and the progress of the main division from Ganjam, should be such as to favour that movement. All these advanced corps were further supported in case of need by a reserve of eight hundred sepoys, some artillery, and a body of five hundred Bengal native volunteers, assembled at Midnapore, a military station in the British dominions, forty-five miles north of Balasore, and which afforded at the same time protection to the frontier of the company's territories against the incursions of any of the Rajah of Berar's predatory horse.

In consequence of the severe illness of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, which disabled him from proceeding on the expedition against

Cuttack, Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, of His Majesty's twelfth regiment, and military secretary to the Governor-General, was appointed to the command of the main division. Before his arrival, however, the ardent zeal of Colonel Campbell had prompted him to move forward on the eighth of September with his troops towards Cuttack; but after one day's march, his fever had increased to such a degree that his life was despaired of, and he was therefore obliged to be carried back. At this period, after halting at Ganjam, his successor arrived in camp, at Pyaghee, on the eleventh of September, and took the command of the forces, which, on the fourteenth, occupied Manickpatam without any resistance from the Mahrattas, who fled on the approach of Colonel Harcourt, who here despatched a letter to the principal bramins of the pagoda of Jagarnaut, recommending them to place that sanctuary under the protection of the British troops, to which proposal they readily consented.

Having in two days passed a river not fordable, or rather an outlet of the Chilka Lake into the sea, near a mile in breadth, with all the troops, camp equipage, cattle and stores, Colonel Harcourt marched from Manickpatam on the seventeenth to Nursingapatam, and from thence on the following day to Jagarnaut.

The country through which the British troops had hitherto marched was highly cultivated, surrounded by villages, whose inhabitants conducted themselves towards us with a cordiality that evinced the highest security, by cheerfully supplying the bazaar with every requisite article of provisions.

On the eighteenth, Colonel Harcourt took possession of the city of Jagarnaut, where, at the request of the chief bramins of the

pagoda, he afforded them a guard of Hindoos; and a most satisfactory confidence was shewn by all the priests and officers belonging to that extraordinary temple, as well as by the inhabitants of Jagarnaut, both in their present situation, and in the future protection of the British government.

On the twenty-fourth, Colonel Harcourt marched with his force to Ahmulpoor, after experiencing great difficulty, owing to the extreme badness of the weather, the inundated state of the country, and the rise of the nullahs, or rivulets, crossing his line of march. The advanced guard was frequently annoyed by the enemy, who suffered, however, for their temerity, being worsted with considerable loss, while on our side there were only three men wounded. But the difficulties that impeded the march of the line detained the heavy guns and baggage for five days; when Colonel Harcourt proceeded to Beirpoorshuttumpoor, where he was again detained until the third, by the badness of the road, and the unfavourableness of the weather. From this place a force was detached in advance under Captain Hutchinson, of the twentieth Bengal native infantry, to occupy a position near Muckundpoor. Captain Hutchinson had no sooner left the camp, than he discovered the enemy in considerable force on his flanks, both horse and foot: but by his able conduct, he succeeded in carrying his orders into complete effect, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition which he had to encounter. His loss consisted of two men killed, and twenty-one wounded, but that of the enemy was very great, owing to their being much exposed to a heavy discharge of grape shot from the six-pounder which Captain Hutchinson had with him.

On the night of the fourth of October Colonel Harcourt moved towards Muckundpoor, where the advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton was vigorously opposed by the enemy, who at length were compelled, by a well-directed and destructive fire, to disperse; after which the division met with nothing to impede their march to the banks of the Kutjoory.

In the meantime, the transports employed to convey the detachment under Captain Morgan reached the mouth of the Balasore, the bar of which harbour they crossed with difficulty, and immediately afterwards put to flight a party of Mahrattas, stationed at Bulramghurry, near the entrance of that river. Having cleared these impediments, the vessels proceeded with the tide, and were greeted as they passed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who were eager to put native pilots on board for the purpose of navigating them, so great was the joy which the people of the country felt and expressed at the near prospect of being delivered from the Mahratta yoke. As the vessels made but little way, and reports were in circulation that a considerable body of the enemy posted at the Ghauts, between this place and Jelasore, were making forced marches towards Balasore, Captain Morgan, on the morning of the twenty-first of September, resolved, with the concurrence of Captain Peter Grant, to quit the transports, and proceed in boats with two six-pounders, and as many men as the craft would hold. After two hours great exertion, they arrived at a clear spot of ground, when the ebb tide having set in, it was determined to advance as fast as possible by land to Balasore, the distance of which was said not to exceed four miles, whereas to have gone by water would have taken two or

three more tides of flood. Accordingly, near three hundred rank and file landed, leaving their guns in the boats, and marched over Paddy fields, which were in a state of complete inundation, from the depth of one to three feet. Besides this, all the way from the entrance to the town of Balasore, till very near the factory-house, was one continued strong defile, lined with cavalry and infantry, who kept up a brisk fire on the British advanced party, but without being able in the least degree to check their progress.

Our men continued to press forward with the most steady perseverance till they came very near their opponents; when a flanking party, detached by Captain Morgan, approaching them at the same time, both gave a well-directed fire, which had the effect of routing the enemy, who fled from their first position with precipitancy, and the loss of twelve men killed. The detachment still kept moving on, under a tedious fire from the tops of houses, and the entrances of lanes, as well as from behind walls and other heights; which fire was returned at intervals with spirit, till the party gained the factory-house, with the loss of only one sepoy killed and three wounded. During the night, the enemy entirely abandoned the town, and fled through the jungles to the neighbouring hills. In the morning, several of the merchants, and principal inhabitants of the place, waited on the commanding officer of the detachment, and expressed the satisfaction which they felt, in common with their fellow-citizens, at the change that had so fortunately placed them under the protection of the British government.

On the thirtieth, Captain Morgan detached two companies of sepoys, under Lieutenant Slye, to occupy the town of Soorong, lying

about twenty miles to the south of Balasore. This party, on their march the next day, attacked and defeated a body of the enemy posted at a village within a short distance of Soorooj, which place, after having been reinforced by another company from Balasore, Lieutenant Slye took possession of on the third of October, without any further opposition, and thereby opened a communication with Cuttack.

During these operations, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson with his detachment marched from Jelasore on the twenty-third of September, and reached Balasore on the third of October, without experiencing any resistance. On the tenth of the same month he proceeded from Balasore to the southward, with a force amounting to eight hundred and sixteen men, in order to join Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt at Cuttack. In the interval, Colonel Fenwick, by seizing the Mahratta pergunnahs, which lay interspersed in the district of Midnapore, completely destroyed the influence of that nation in those parts.

Colonel Harcourt, on his entrance into the province, immediately made preparations for the reduction of the fort of Barabuttee, which stands about a mile from the town of Cuttack. This fort, which is built of stone, is surrounded by a ditch thirty feet deep, filled from the Mahanuddy river, and varying in breadth, according to the situation of the bastions, from thirty-five to one hundred and thirty-five feet, and having over it a narrow bridge leading to the only entrance into the place.

A battery for one twelve-pounder, two six-pounders, and two howitzers, being completed on the night of the thirteenth of October, at the distance of five hundred yards from the outer gate of the fort,

commenced firing early the next morning; and by eleven o'clock in the forenoon most of the defences on the south face of the works, against which our fire was directed, were taken off, and the guns of the enemy silenced. Orders were then given to Colonel Clayton to advance with the storming party, consisting of two hundred Europeans from His Majesty's twenty-second regiment, and the Madras European regiment; four hundred sepoys from the twentieth Bengal, and the ninth and nineteenth regiments of native infantry, accompanied by some artillery-men and one six-pounder, to blow open the gate. In passing the bridge, the party were exposed to a heavy though ill-directed fire of musketry from the fort; and forty minutes elapsed before they could succeed in blowing open the wicket, the remaining part of the gate having been strengthened by thick masses of stone. This object being at length accomplished, the storming party passed through singly, but with such boldness and celerity, that in spite of the desperate resistance made in defence of the inner gates, they soon became masters of the fort, which the enemy, dismayed at their own loss, and the persevering resolution of the assailants, abandoned. On the part of the British, the casualties were only six privates killed and forty-seven wounded, among which latter were Captain Hurlestone, of His Majesty's twenty-second regiment, Captain Kenney, of the first battalion of the nineteenth Madras regiment, and Lieutenant Faithful, of the Bengal artillery.

Throughout the course of the assault, the storming party displayed the characteristic courage and coolness which uniformly distinguished the operations of our armies in every part of India; and the marked approbation of the Governor-General in Council was bestowed upon

Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, for his judgment, skill, and firmness, in directing the movements of the troops; on Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton, and the other officers just mentioned, as also on Captain Blunt, field-engineer, Captain Hetzlar of the Bengal artillery, and Brigade Major Thompson. His Excellency likewise expressed his particular approbation of the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, Captain Morgan, and Captain Grant, accompanying the same by an observation, that great advantage had been derived to the success of our arms from the respect uniformly paid by both officers and men to private property and public institutions, in the security afforded to the inhabitants, and the protection of the temples from violation.

The capture of the fort of Barabuttee was followed by the entire submission of the province of Cuttack to the British government, under whose authority it has ever since remained. Its extreme length is about one hundred and fifty miles, and the mean breadth about sixty, in which space is comprised a population estimated at one million two hundred thousand souls, almost the whole of whom profess the faith of Brahma. The staple manufacture of the province is the weaving of muslins, chiefly for turbans, and on which numerous artificers are continually employed. A considerable degree of importance, however, has been attached to the possession of Cuttack, from the connexion which it has with the religion of the Hindoos, whose reverence for the temple of Jagarnaut infinitely surpasses all that has ever been known in the history of ancient or modern superstition of the extravagance of local sanctity.

This celebrated structure, which may be said to constitute the centre

of Brahminical devotion, absorbing all the proud and invidious distinctions of that extraordinary system, stands a few miles to the north-east of the Chilka lake, between the Byturnee Nullah and the Gingam river. Most places that have been selected in other parts of the world as the objects of sanctimonious resort have possessed some peculiar attractions derived from external scenery, but Jagarnaut is wholly destitute of any thing that can elevate the imagination or please the eye. It is a lofty building, irregular in form, and disfigured on all sides by representations which too plainly indicate the practices that take place under the name of religion within the mysterious recesses of the temple. The country all around, as far as the eye can discern, presents nothing but a sterile sandy waste; the mournful cast of which is heightened by the hollow roaring of the sea, and the sight of innumerable skeletons that whiten the cheerless plain. The road to Jagarnaut for above fifty miles is strewed with human bones, the sad relics of perverted faith, mistaken piety, and a degraded intellect. This, however, cannot excite surprise, when it is considered that above a million of pilgrims resort hither annually from the remotest parts of India; some for the fulfilment of vows to expiate any thing but moral transgressions, others from the delusive idea that to behold the fane and its idol is the attainment of a high degree of perfection; and many aged persons, impressed with the belief that death in the sight of Jagarnaut is a passport to supreme felicity. It might be expected that where devotion is carried to such an extravagant height, the worship must be grand, and the object of it amiable. On the contrary, nothing can be more offensive to good manners and moral feeling than the ceremonial instituted in honour of this supposed

divinity, the figure of which, as exhibited on his great festival, when myriads crowd together for the honour of drawing his car, or to gain a sight of the puerile triumph, is disgusting in the extreme. The tax, indeed, which polytheism lays upon its infatuated votaries, in compelling them to reverence ugliness as the personification of the divine attributes, has never been more fully levied than in this favourite of Hindoo superstition.

It were to be wished, that since this valuable province has been annexed to our dominions, some measure could be adopted for the correction of these enormities, by converting the tribute exacted from the pilgrims who visit Jagarnaut into a fund for the education of the children of the Hindoos, instead of making the same an article of public revenue.

The plea of prescription and state policy may, it is true, be urged in many cases to justify the continuance of usages, against which there are insuperable objections: but in the present instance, the question is whether any lucrative advantage can be taken conscientiously of that which is in every respect detestable, as directly tending to keep the minds of millions in a state of the most deplorable darkness, and to impede the progress of that enlightened morality which is indispensably necessary for the improvement of the numerous tribes who have been fortunate enough to come under our government. So long as the Hindoos remain in this state of mental slavery, it would be preposterous to expect that they should become that elevated order of beings which is desirable for the general good; and yet it deserves enquiry whether men, who are capable of enduring such privations and bodily sufferings in a spirit of gloomy fanaticism, might not,

by proper methods of instruction, without any violation of their abstract rights, be exalted in the scale of civilization. Of their wonderful fortitude and perseverance under the working of a strong delusion, innumerable instances daily occur, but the pilgrimage to Jagarnant is that which exhibits this feature of their character in the strongest light; as the writer himself once witnessed at Cawnpore, where a devotee, in the fulfilment of a vow, arrived from Hurdwar, measuring the whole distance by the length of his body on the ground, in which painful mode of travelling he had already, according to his own account, spent twenty years, while as yet he had accomplished but little more than two-thirds of his journey.

From these pitiable scenes of human weakness, it is proper to resume the detail of military operations.

In order to complete the subjugation of the province of Cuttack, Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, immediately after the capture of the fort of Barabuttee, detached a corps, composed of native cavalry, a company of Madras European infantry, and a Madras battalion o native infantry, besides a party of matrosses, and two six-pounders, under the orders of Major Forbes of the Madras establishment, to occupy the defile of Bermuth, which forms the only entrance into the province through the chain of mountains which separates it from the states of the Berar rajah. This service was successfully performed on the second of November, and while the enemy escaped with difficulty across the mountains, the zemindars and inhabitants of the country gave every proof of their attachment to the British government by providing the detachment with all sorts of provisions. Soon after the arrival of Major Forbes at the defile of Bermuth, he was

met by Vakeels from the Rajah of Bood and the Ranah of Sonapore, with several others, offering to submit themselves to the British government, and soliciting the benefit of its protection.

Having accomplished every part of this well-planned expedition, under the special orders of his Excellency the Governor-General, the troops in Cuttack made preparations for entering the state of Berar through the defile of Bermuth, to co-operate with the army commanded by Major-General Wellesley; to the brilliant achievements of whom we shall now proceed.

CHAPTER IX.

Operations in the Deccan.—March of Major-General Wellesley from Poonah.—Storm of the Town of Ahmednaghur.—Surrender of the Fort.—Arrival of General Wellesley at Aurungabad.—The Designs of the Enemy frustrated.—Colonel Stevenson takes Jalnapore, and surprises the Enemy's Camp.—Successful Endeavour to bring on a general Action.—Battle of Assye.—Pursuit of the Enemy.—Fallacious Overtures for Peace.

While the grand army, commanded by General Lake, thus gloriously triumphed in that part of India correctly denominated Hindoostan proper, the armies of Madras and Bombay proceeded with no less brilliancy in the Deccan, under Major-General Wellesley, who in this distant part of the world commenced that career of military splendour which eventually accomplished the deliverance of Europe.

Having restored the Paishwah to his legitimate rights, the general, with the main body of his army, left the capital of that prince on the fourth of June, 1803, and on the fourteenth of the same month reached Waikee, not far from Ahmednaghur, a strong fortress belonging to Scindiah, at the distance of eighty miles from Poonah. By this movement the British force was placed in a position to act as the exigency of the case might require, and to begin hostilities with a prospect of advantage, should offensive measures be rendered indispensable by a rupture of the negotiation then going on between our government and the confederates. The propriety of acting with

a view to such an event soon became obvious, by the failure of the negotiation with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, information of which reached General Wellesley on the sixth of August, 1803. At this time, the progress of the troops had been suspended three days by a very heavy and incessant fall of rain, which made the road impassable. On the seventh, however, the weather began to clear up, and the next day the army was enabled to resume its march for Ahmednaghur, the commandant of which fortress received a summons to surrender, by a messenger despatched for that purpose the same morning. To this demand a positive refusal was returned; and when the general on his arrival in the neighbourhood of the Pettah, or fortified town, invited the inhabitants to submission, with a promise of protection, this overture was also declined, in consequence of the place being in the possession of a number of Arabs, supported by a battalion of Scindiah's regular infantry, and a body of horse, who lay encamped in an open space between the town and the fort.

Upon this refusal, the general immediately attacked the Pettah, with the picquets of the infantry reinforced by the flank companies of the seventy-eighth regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Harness, as brigadier of the day, and which formed the first column; while the centre attack was conducted by eight companies of the seventy-fourth regiment, with some sepoys, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace; and a third party on the right, commanded by Captain Vesey, consisted of the two flank companies of the seventy-fourth and the first battalion of the third regiment of native infantry.

The Pettah wall was very lofty, and defended by towers; but being without a rampart, the troops, after ascending to the top of the ladders, had no ground on which they could stand, and were consequently exposed to the fire from the interior of the town, without being able to descend into the place to charge the enemy, while the Arabs who occupied the towers defended their post with the greatest obstinacy. At length our parties forced their way in, when the enemy being obliged to quit the wall, fled to the houses, from whence they continued a destructive fire upon the troops; and a party of Arabs acteally charged the grenadiers of the seventy-eighth, while Scindiah's regular infantry also attacked our troops in the streets of the town; but in a short time, after a sharp and gallant contest, our troops were completely masters of the place, though with the loss of thirty killed and one hundred and eleven wounded. Among the former were Captains Grant and Humberstone, and Lieutenant Anderson of the seventy-eighth regiment. Of the wounded were Lieutenant Wilson of the seventy-fourth regiment, and Lieutenant Larkins of the seventy-eighth regiment, and Lieutenant Plenderleath of the first battalion of the third regiment of native infantry; but the enemy's loss was from the nature of the conquest, necessarily much greater than that which we experienced.

On the ninth, the Major-General reconnoitred the fort, and the same evening Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, with five companies of the seventy-fourth regiment, and the second battalion of the twelfth regiment, seized a position within four hundred yards of it, where in the course of that night, a battery was constructed for four guns, to take off the defences on the side where it was intended to make the

Attack. This battery opened at daylight on the following morning, and it was so advantageously placed, and fired with such effect, as to induce the Killedar to demand a cessation of hostilities, in order that he might send a person to treat for his submission; but to this proposition the general sent him for answer that the firing should not cease till the fort was either taken or surrendered, adding, however, that he would listen to whatever he might be desirous to communicate. On the eleventh in the morning, the Killedar sent out two Vakeels, with an offer of delivering up the fort, on condition that he should be allowed to depart with his garrison, and retain his private property. This proposal was accepted, and the next morning the Killedar marched out of the fort, with the garrison, consisting of fourteen hundred men, when the British troops took possession of the place.

In praising the conduct of the troops on this occasion, General Wellesley particularly notices Lieutenant-Colonels Harness, Wallace, and Maxwell, Captain Beaumont commanding the artillery, Captain Johnson of the engineers, and Captain Heitland of the pioneers.

Ahmednaghur, which has ever been celebrated as one of the largest fortresses of this part of India, was in former times the seat of a dynasty of sultans; and in the reign of the Emperor Akbar it resisted the forces of that monarch for above two years. The acquisition of it, at the present period, was of primary importance, for besides being in an excellent state of repair, its situation, on the frontier of the Nizam's territories, rendered the possession of it highly necessary to the furtherance of our operations, by securing the communication with Poonah, and affording a depot for the supply of provisions and military stores.

Major-General Wellesley, on completing this conquest, proceede to occupy all the districts that were dependant upon Ahmednaghu after which, having, with other requisite arrangements, stationed respectable garrison in the fort, he moved to the Godavery rive which he crossed with his whole army on the twenty-fourth of Augu In the meantime Colonel Stevenson, with the subsidiary force in service of the Nizam, and the native troops of that prince, which h been assembled at Gardoon, were ordered by the major-general march in a northerly direction towards Aurungabad.

This movement had for its object the defence of the Nizam frontier, whose territory was entered by Dowlut Row Scindiah, a the Rajah of Berar, at the head of a large body of horse, on t twenty-fourth of the same month. After penetrating by the Ghau or mountainous pass of Adjuntee, and pushing on between Colon Stevenson's corps, which had moved eastward towards the Badowl Ghaut, and Aurungabad, the confederates seized Jalnapore, a sma fort, but the capital of a district of the same name. Finding, hov ever, that General Wellesley had arrived at Aurungabad on the twenty ninth, they suddenly moved in a south-easterly direction, with apparent intention of crossing the Godavery, and attacking Hydraba To counteract this design, and compel the enemy to an action retreat, the Major-General immediately proceeded towards t Godavery, which at that time happened, very unusually, to passable in every part.

Here, by continuing to move along the left bank of the river to t eastward, he so completely checked the operations of the enemy the south, that, finding their views frustrated, they returned to t

north of Jalnapore. Besides the advantage gained by this movement in the relief of our ally, another of immediate concern to the army itself was rendered in the protection afforded to two convoys of grain and treasure, which had been detached by Lieutenant-General Stuart from Moodgul, and the last of which, under Major Hill, arrived the eighteenth of September.

On the first of that month, Colonel Stevenson returned from the eastward, and the following day carried the fort of Jalnapore. This gallant officer also, while General Wellesley was engaged in protecting the convoys, and preventing the enemy from crossing the Godavery, harassed the latter by several attempts to bring them to action.

In a night attack on the ninth of the same month, the colonel threw their camp into the greatest consternation; but though there was every reason to conclude that the loss which they sustained on that occasion was considerable, the particular amount could not be ascertained.

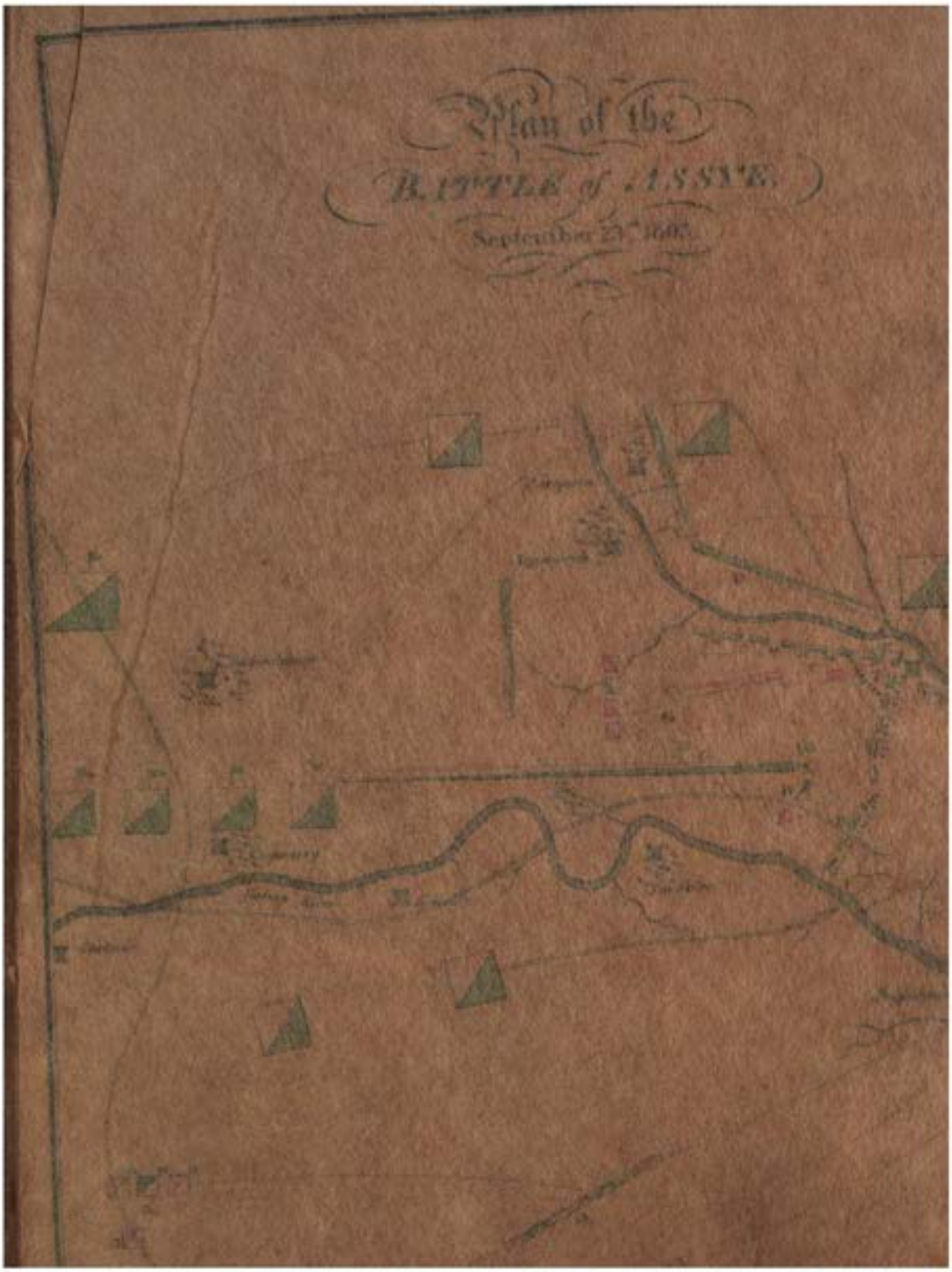
By this vigilance the confederates were disappointed in their purposes, nor could they succeed in committing any material injury in the territory through which they passed, as the spirit of the people was generally roused against them, and their parties were in many places defeated by the peons, or irregular infantry, stationed in the different villages for the collection of the revenue.

Perceiving, therefore, that they had little or no chance of accomplishing the object they had in view by their present mode of warfare, the two chiefs retraced their steps towards the Adjuntee pass, where they were joined by a detachment of regular infantry, under the command of two French officers, named Pohlman and Dupont, consisting of sixteen

battalions, with a large and excellent train of artillery. After this junction, the whole of the confederated army took up a position between Bokerdun and Jaffierabad. On the twenty-first of September, the two corps under General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson having met at Budnapoor, it was settled that each division should take a separate route the next day towards the enemy, with the design of attacking them on the morning of the twenty-fourth. In pursuance of this preconcerted plan, at the time appointed, on the twenty-second, Colonel Stevenson marched by the western route, and the major-general by the eastern round the hills between Budnapoor and Jalna.

On the twenty-third, General Wellesley proceeded to Naulnair, where, having received information that the combined armies, of whom he was in quest, were encamped at no more than six miles from the ground which he intended to occupy, he formed the resolution of attacking them at once, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Stevenson. To this spirited measure, the general was led by the consideration that a delay would expose his own baggage to the depredations of the enemy, while it was probable that on hearing of the approach of the other division they might be induced to withdraw their guns and infantry during the night, to avoid the general attack which they had reason to expect.

Having formed this determination, the major-general began to put it into execution with [illegible] prompitude, providing first for the security of the [illegible] which were left at Naulnair, under the protection of [illegible] sepoys, and four hundred men drawn from the [illegible] a preliminary and important object


Plan of the
BATTLE of ASSYE.
September 23d 1803.

being settled, General Wellesley advanced towards the enemy, whom he found strongly encamped between the Kaitna and the Juah, their line extending east and west along the north bank of the former river, the sides of which are so very high and rocky, as to be impassable for guns, except at particular places near the villages. The right of the confederates, consisting wholly of cavalry, was posted in the neighbourhood of Bokerdun, reaching to their line of infantry, which was encamped near the fortified village of Assye.

As the British army had marched fourteen miles to Naulnir, from whence the enemy's camp was distant six miles, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before our troops reached the place of their destination. Though Major-General Wellesley arrived in front of the right of the enemy, (*as stated*) he came to the determination of attacking their left, where the guns and infantry were posted, and the defeat of which was most likely to be decisive. Accordingly, he moved round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of our infantry, with the British cavalry in the rear, and that of the Paishwah and the Mysore cavalry on the right flank.

These two last-mentioned corps had, on many occasions, rendered essential service by their bravery and good conduct during the campaign; and the Mysore cavalry, in particular, reflected great credit upon the government of that country.

The whole army having passed the Kaitna, at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, and near the village of Peepulgaon, General Wellesley formed the infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry, as a reserve, in a third line (*a*) on an open space between the two rivers, which are here nearly parallel to each other. The Paishwah's

and Mysore cavalry (1, 2, 5) occupied the ground to the southward of the Kaitna, on the left flank of the British troops, thereby keeping in check a large body of the enemy's horse, which had followed the route of General Wellesley from the right of their own position. The first line of our infantry consisted of the advanced picquets to the right, two battalions of sepoys, and His Majesty's seventy-eighth regiment; the second, of His Majesty's seventy-fourth regiment, and two battalions of sepoys; and the third, of His Majesty's nineteenth dragoons, with three regiments of native cavalry.

The number of British troops engaged amounted to about one thousand two hundred cavalry, European and native, one thousand three hundred European infantry and artillery, with two thousand sepoys; in all, about four thousand five hundred men.

The force of the enemy consisted of sixteen regular battalions of infantry; viz. Monsieur Pohlman's brigade, or six thousand men; that of Dupont, two thousand five hundred, and four battalions belonging to the Begum Somroo, amounting to two thousand more; the whole making ten thousand five hundred disciplined troops, commanded by European officers, exclusive of the artillery men, the Rajah of Berar's infantry, and the irregular infantry of Scindiah. Besides all these, there was a well appointed train of artillery, exceeding one hundred guns, and several large bodies of horse, which, according to the most accurate accounts, amounted to between [illegible] and forty thousand. Such was the prodigious disparity of numbers and strength in this fearful contest, which the enemy began to [illegible] on the British troops as they advanced to the Kaitna; [illegible] entertained that it was the intention of the general to attack [illegible] they instantly

changed the position of their infantry and guns, which had hitherto been along the north bank of the river, but now extended from thence to the village of Assye, upon the river Juah, and on the right of the British army (a). A second line was formed nearly at right angles to the rear of the enemy's first line, with its left towards Assye, and its rear to the Juah, along the bank of which it extended in a westerly direction from the last mentioned village.

General Wellesley having made his dispositions, instantly proceeded to attack the confederated armies, and notwithstanding the tremendous fire which they had to sustain, the troops advanced with a firmness that implied the entire confidence they had in their leader. The British artillery opened at the distance of four hundred yards from the enemy; but the general, finding that little effect was produced, and that his guns could not advance in consequence of the loss of men and bullocks, ordered the cannon to be left behind, and the whole to move on to close combat, taking his own station at the head of the line. Having placed Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, to support the right of the infantry as the line moved on, and being secure on his left from the nature of the ground and the relative positions of the enemy, he advanced to the battle.

The Mahrattas, numerous and daring as they were, stood astonished and appalled at the determined spirit of the comparatively insignificant band that presumed thus to attack their formidable hosts. But after giving way for a few minutes, they rallied from this consternation; and their powerful artillery, served by French officers, opened a most destructive fire upon the assailants. Our soldiers had now recourse to that sure weapon in British hands, the bayonet; and the effect of this charge was

irresistible. The Mahratta troops waited the shock with firmness, but when the appulse came, the first line gave way; and though they rallied again, as if struck by a sense of shame that such an inferior force should gain the mastery, it was only a momentary gleam of resolution; and they were once more compelled to fall back upon their second line, in front of the Juah river, (o) whither they were closely pursued by the British, (c) who followed up the advantage which they had gained with the greatest intrepidity.

The picquets of the infantry, and the seventy-fourth regiment, on the right of General Wellesley's first and second lines, suffered severely by the fire of the enemy's cannon on the left of their position near Assye. So much, indeed, was the latter regiment thinned by it, that a body of Mahratta horse (s) was tempted to make a charge upon it, at the moment when it was most exposed; but the timely interposition of the British cavalry, who (c) charged them in turn, checked their temerity, and drove them with great slaughter into the river. At last the enemy's line gave way in every direction; and our cavalry, who had crossed to the northward of the Juah, cut in among their broken infantry, and charged the fugitives along the bank of that river with the greatest effect.

The extreme disproportion between the numbers of the combatants on our side alone prevented our small but victorious band from profiting to the fullest extent by the triumph which they had gained: and yet such was their energy, that deeming the enemy's defeat complete, they followed the fugitives with all the ardour of conquest. This precipitancy had nearly been attended with fatal consequences: and nothing but the cool intrepidity of General Wellesley, aided by

the bravery of Colonel Maxwell, could have saved the army from th perilous state into which it was driven by the impetuosity of valour.

A considerable number of the Mahrattas who had thrown themselve into the posture of slain men, near and under their own guns, wer passed by the British line, with the persuasion that they were heaps o dead; but no sooner had our soldiers passed them, than they suddenly arose, seized the cannon which had also been left behind by the army, and began to re-open a fierce and destructive fire upon the rear o our troops, who, inatten ive to what was doing, were eagerly bent upon the pursuit of the flying enemy before them. This cannonade continued for some time, as our troops, scattered by pursuit, could not immediately be brought to act in a mass against the resuscitated foe. Encouraged by this circumstance, some of the enemy's corps, who had been retreating in good order, halted, and faced upon their pursuers, while their cavalry, which had been hovering round the British troops throughout the action, still continued at a little distance. This was, therefore, a critical moment, for besides being placed between two fires, the British were divided into small bodies, in consequence of their eagerness to follow up the pursuit which they had so prematurely commenced. The whole battle was in a manner to be fought over again, and that too under peculiar disadvantages, which called for extraordinary exertions on the part of the commander. In this dilemma, General Wellesley, seeing at once the imminent danger in which his army was placed, and the necessity of securing the fruits of his hard-earned victory, put himself at the head of the seventy-eighth regiment, and the seventh regiment of native cavalry, (c) with whom he charged the Mahrattas who had seized upon the guns.

After a bloody and perilous contest, (x) the general, though he had a horse shot under him, and was exposed to the most imminent danger, achieved his object in recovering the cannon, and routing the enemy. At the same time Colonel Maxwell recrossed the Juah; and placing himself at the head of the nineteenth dragoons, with the remainder of the native cavalry, (z) so vigorously charged the enemy's infantry, which had again formed, as to complete their overthrow, but with the loss of his own valuable life; thus adding one name more to the list of heroes whose deeds have embalmed them in the records of a generous nation. The slaughter on this occasion was great, as the Mahrattas fought with the desperate fury of men stung with the deep sense of shame at yielding the palm of victory to an inferior force; while the British were as eager to retrieve the fortunes of a day, the glory of which had nearly been tarnished by their excess of confidence.

This sanguinary conflict lasted upwards of three hours, at the end of which the enemy left twelve hundred men on the field of battle and the country covered with their wounded: the victors being in possession of seven standards, the camp equipage, a number of bullocks and camels, a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, and ninety-eight pieces of ordnance, as follows.

ORDNANCE.	Calibre.														
	24 Pounders	18 ditto.	16 ditto.	12 ditto.	10 ditto.	9 ditto.	8 ditto.	6 ditto.	4 ditto.	3 ditto.	3½ ditto.	1 ditto.	8 Inch.	6 ditto.	5½ ditto.	5 ditto.	Total
Howitzers Brass	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	1	7
Guns ditto	..	5	7	1	1	..	5	2	4	12	8	1	..	..	..	..	60
Ditto Iron	2	2	3	3	..	1	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Total	2	8	10	5	1	1	4	3	7	8	1	1	2	2	2	1	98

It would be difficult to find language sufficiently expressive of the skill and promptitude, coolness and valour, displayed by the British general in the course of this splendid but severe and desperate action. The whole line, led on by him in person, advanced to the charge with inflexible stedfastness, though without guns, and in the face of a most destructive fire of round and grape shot, until they came within a very short distance of the enemy, who were compelled, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, at the point of the bayonet to abandon their cannon, and quit the field, which they had obstinately maintained above three hours.

It was acknowledged by all the officers present, who had witnessed the power of the French artillery in the wars of Europe, that the enemy's guns at the battle of Assye were equally well served; and yet even against this formidable arm, together with the immense bodies of cavalry which the confederates had that day on the field, and who several times seemed disposed to charge our line, the British troops, animated by the example of their leader, persevered in the attack with such dauntless valour and resolution, as completely overawed the foe, and rendered all his efforts unavailing. In the action, Scindiah's prime minister, Jadoon Row, received a wound of which he afterwards died; besides whom, an European officer of distinction was also found dead on the field of battle.

The particulars of our loss in killed and wounded are enumerated in the following returns.

nnded, and Missing, of the Detachment under the Command of MAJOR-GENERAL the HONORABLE ARTHUR WELLESLEY, BATTLE of ASSYE, against the Army of DOWLUT RAW SCINDIAH, on Friday, the 23rd of September, 1803.

| KILLED. | | |

List of Officers Killed and Wounded in the Action of the 23rd of September, 1803.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
H. M. 19th L. Dr.	Lieut. Col. Maxwell, commanding the Cavalry. Captain R. Boyle.	Captain Cathcart. Captain Sale. Lieut. Wilson. Lieut. Young.
4th Rt. N. Cavalry.	Captain H. Mackay, Agent for public cattle.	Cornet Meredith.
5th Rt. N. Cavalry.	Lieut. Bonom, Adjutant.	Captain J. Colebrooke. Lieut. Macleod, Quarter-Master. Lieut. Darke.
7th Rt. N. Cavalry.	.....	Captain MacGregor.
1st Bat. Artillery.	Captain Lieut. Steele. Captain Lieut. Fowler. Lieut. Lindsay. Lieut. Griffith.	
H. M. 74th Regt.	Captain D. Aytoun. Captain A. Dyce. Captain H. Macleod, Paymaster of the regiment. Captain J. Maxwell. Lieut. J. Campbell. Lieut. J. M. Campbell. Lieut. J. Grant. Lieut. R. Nelson. Lieut. L. Campbell. Lieut. M. Morris. Volunteer G. Tew, not on the strength, but recommended for an Ensigncy.	Major S. Sullivan. Captain Lieut. N. J. Moore. Lieut. J. A. Mein. Lieut. McMurdo. Lieut. M. Shaw. Ensign B. Kearnan.
H. M. 78th Regt.	Lieut. J. Douglas.	Captain Lieut. C. McKenzie. Lieut. J. Kinlock. Lieut. J. Lamon. Ensign J. Bethune, acting Adjutant.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
1st B. 2nd Rt. N. I.	Lieut. Brown.	
1st B. 4th Rt. N. I.	Lieut. Mayne.	
1st B. 8th Rt. N. I.	.....	Lieut. Davie.
	.....	Lieut. Fair.
	.....	Lieut. Hunter.
	.....	Lieut. Musgraves.
1st B. 10th Rt. N. I.	Lieut. Ferris.	Lieut. Taylor.
2nd B. 11th Rt. N. I.	.....	Lieut. Col. Macleod.
	.....	Major McCally.
	.....	Lieut. Rosadier.
	.....	Lieut. Harvey.
	.....	Lieut. Smith.
	.....	Lieut. De Crez.

The intelligence of this glorious achievement diffused universal jo
over our eastern settlements, and their dependencies, while at the se
of government the importance of the victory was duly appreciated,
distinguished in general orders, published at Fort William on the
th of October. On the present occasion, it was well observed
At the close of a campaign of the most brilliant success and
quarter of India, this transcendant victory demands
blic honour, equal to any which the justice of the
has ever conferred on the conduct of our officers
distinguished period of our military history.
cil highly approves the skilful plan formed
on the twenty-first of September, for
, and for reducing their combine
general action.
t cordial approbation
with whi

General determined upon the instantaneous attack of the enemy o the twenty-third of September.

"During the severe action which ensued, the conduct of Major General Wellesley united a degree of ability, of prudence, and dauntless spirit, seldom equalled, and never surpassed.

"The Governor-General in Council signifies his warmest applaus of the exemplary order and steadiness with which the troops advanced under a most destructive fire against a body of the enemy's infantry, considerably superior in number, and determined to oppose a vigorous istance to our attack. The numerous infantry of the enemy were riven from their powerful artillery at the point of the bayonet, with an alacrity and resolution truly worthy of British soldiers; and the firmness and discipline manifested by our brave infantry, in repelling the great body of the enemy's cavalry, merit the highest commendation.

"The Governor-General in Council has remarked with great satisfaction the gallant and skilful conduct of the cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, and particularly of His Majesty's nineteenth regiment of light dragoons, a corps distinguished in India by a long and uninterrupted course of arduous service and of progressive honour.

"His Excellency directs Major-General Wellesley to signify to all the officers and troops employed on this glorious occasion, and especially to Lieutenant-Colonel Harness, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, who commanded brigades, and to the officers of the staff, the high sense entertained by the Governor-General in Council of their gallant and honourable services.

"The important benefits resulting from the triumph of our arms

in the battle of Assye are not inferior to the splendour of the action. The immediate consequences derived from the exertions of that day have been the complete defeat of the combined army of the confederate chieftains; an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, especially of their artillery, in the Deccan; the expulsion of an hostile and predatory army from the territory of our ally the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and a seasonable and effectual check to the ambition, pride, and rapacity of the enemy.

"The prosperous result of these advantages must be accelerated by the auspicious progress of our arms in other provinces of India; and it may reasonably be expected that the decisive victories gained at Delhi and Assye on the eleventh and twenty-third of September will speedily compel the enemy to restore peace to Hindoostan, and to the

achievements of our commanders, officers, and troops, during

and especially in the signal victories of Delhi and of

ire a general sentiment of just confidence in the vigour

sources, and in the stability of our dominion and

success in frustrating every advantage of supe-

d artillery, and even of obstinate resistance

constitutes a satisfactory proof of the estab-

discipline, experience, and valour; and

rogress of our arms is not the acci-

sient advantage, but the natural

to be derived for the loss of

those amenities

officers, who, animated

the gallant spirit of their general, and emulating the noble example of his zeal and courage, sacrificed their lives to the honour and interests of their country.

"The Governor-General in Council greatly regrets the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell of His Majesty's nineteenth dragoons, who fell at the head of the British cavalry, bravely charging a large body of the enemy's infantry. With the utmost concern, His Excellency in Council records the names of the valuable and excellent officers who have fallen with glory at the battle of Assye, in achieving the complete defeat of the enemy, and in establishing the triumph of the British arms in the Deccan. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, Captains R. Boyle, H. Mackay, D. Aytone, A. Dyce, R. Macleod, and T. Maxwell; Captain-Lieutenants Steele and Fowler; Lieutenants Bonomi, Griffith, J. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, J. Grant, R. Neilson, L. Campbell, M. Morris, and J. Douglas; Lieutenants Brown, Mayor, Pettie, and volunteer Tew.

"In testimony of the high honour acquired by the army under the personal command of Major-General Wellesley at the battle of Assye, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to order, that honorary colours, with a device properly suited to commemorate that splendid victory, be presented to the corps of cavalry and infantry employed on that glorious occasion. The names of the brave officers and men who fell at the battle of Assye will be commemorated, together with the circumstances of the action, upon the public monument to be erected at Fort William, to the memory of those who have fallen in the public service during the present campaign.

"The honorary colours granted by these orders to His Majesty's

nineteenth regiment of dragoons, and to the seventy-fourth and seventy-eighth regiments of foot, are to be used by those corps while they shall continue in India, or until His Majesty's most gracious pleasure be signified through his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

"His Excellency the most noble the Governor-General, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the land forces serving in the East Indies, is pleased to direct that these orders be publicly read to the troops under arms, at every station of the land forces in the East Indies, and that the European officers of the native corps do cause the same to be duly explained to the native officers and troops."

After the battle, the remnants of the defeated forces fled in the direction of the Adjuntee pass, whither the major-general purposed to follow them, as soon as he had secured the captured guns, and taken care of his wounded; but Colonel Stevenson arriving with his corps on the evening of the twenty-fourth, it was thought best to detach that officer immediately in the pursuit of the enemy.

On the eighth of the following month, General Wellesley received a letter [illegible] Jajee Khoonjur, one of Scindiah's ministers, contain- [illegible] a British officer, with another belonging to the Sou- [illegible] in, might be sent for th[illegible] of negotiating [illegible] been the allies a[illegible] confederates. [illegible] had before th[illegible] treachery [illegible] service of [illegible] as justly [illegible] his condu[illegible] major- general, there[illegible] perfidy of the Mahra[illegible] proposition, because it did n[illegible] of Berar had

given any authority to Ballajee Khoonjur to make the overture, and consequently that they might, when they pleased, break off the negotiation on that plea. But this refusal was justified by another consideration still more imperative under the existing circumstances; which was, that the presence of a British officer in the camp of the confederates would have tended to raise the spirits of their troops, by making them believe that one government was reduced to the necessity of suing for peace.

Taking this prudent view of the probable consequences of such a measure, the Major-General thought proper to decline meeting the overture of Ballajee Khoonjur in the way prescribed by the crafty minister, at the same time signifying his readiness to receive at the British camp, with every mark of distinction and sincerity, any person duly authorized by the confederated chieftains, to propose terms of negotiation to the allied powers.

While Dowlut Row Scindiah was thus endeavouring to impose upon our credulity by fallacious overtures of peace, his own possessions in Guzerat were vigorously attacked, and carried by a series of operations, the particulars of which will be detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Operations in Guzerat.—March of Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington from Baroda.—Storm and Capture of Baroach.—Account of the Parsees.—Beneficial Effects of the British Influence in Guzerat.—The celebrated Banyan Tree, or Kuveer Bar.—Reduction of Champaneer and the Fort of Powanghure.

While the important and brilliant transactions already narrated were going on in the heart of the Mahratta empire, that part of the British force stationed in Guzerat, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, under the direction of General Wellesley, co-operated with promptitude and success in the prosecution of the great objects of the war, according to the plan originally formed for its speedy and decided termination. Agreeably to the distribution of that force, as already described, the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington of the Bombay establishment, consisting of His Majesty's eighty-sixth regiment, with a proportion of European artillery and native infantry, marched from Baroda on the twenty-first of August, against the town of Baroach. On the twenty-fourth, Colonel Woodington, in moving on to Bargood, found the enemy in front of the Pettah, apparently determined to oppose him; but, after a feeble resistance, they were compelled to retreat into the fort, the town on the western face of which was occupied by the British troops the next morning.

On the twenty-sixth, a battery of two eighteen pounders was

completed, and opened on the fort, in which, by the morning of the twenty-ninth, a breach was made; but Colonel Woodington deferred the assault till three o'clock in the afternoon, with the view of profiting by the assistance of the Fury gun vessel, and an armed boat, whose arrival was then expected. That hour was also considered as most eligible, because it was a time of the day when the enemy would most likely be off their guard. Neither the vessel nor the boat, however, could make their way, owing to the shallowness of the water, so that it became necessary to urge the immediate attack without waiting for their co-operation.

The storming party, consisting of one hundred Europeans, and two hundred Natives, was led by Captain Richardson of the eighty-sixth regiment, supported by a second party, amounting to one hundred and fifty Europeans, and two hundred and fifty natives, under the command of Major Cuyler of the same regiment. The reserve, under Captain Bethune of the Bombay establishment, was composed of one hundred Europeans, and the same number of sepoys.

On the signal from two six pounders, which fired quick, one after another, these parties, advancing rapidly from the rear of our battery, whither they had been marched under cover from the view of the fort, formed the breach. The enemy opposed a vigorous resistance; but being at last overcome by the determined spirit of our troops, they were soon compelled to abandon the fort. After Captain Richardson had obtained possession of the first gateway, Major Cuyler, with the supporting party, pushed on with such celerity as to come up with a body of Arabs before they could effect their escape out of the fort. These Arabs, who were composed of cavalry and infantry, lost about

two hundred men, and several horses: but the entire loss of the enemy in killed was about three hundred, and as many wounded. The casualties on the part of the British during the siege and storm were comparatively trivial, being seventy-nine killed and wounded among whom were Captain Semple of the eighty-sixth regiment, killed, and Captain Richardson and Captain Mc'Laurin of the same regiment, wounded. In commenting on the gallantry of the officers and troops employed on this service, the governor-general expressed his particular approbation of the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington, for the judicious and spirited exertions made by him to facilitate the reduction of the place. His Excellency also bestowed his commendation on the officers already mentioned, and upon Captain Cliffe of the Bombay engineers, after which, he proceeded to observe, that in bearing a due testimony to the merits of those who were engaged on this service, he could not but remark that the very day [illegible] distinguished by the announcement of the victorious career [illegible]y of Bengal, under the personal command of General Lake [illegible] frontiers of Oude, was that on which the army of Bombay [illegible] western extremity of the peninsula of India, effected an objec[illegible] most arduous nature, with a similar spirit of alacrity and [illegible]

[illegible] with the town and fort of Broach, the English obtained possession of the district of the same name, which is one of the best cultivated and populated territories on that side of India, the estimated annual revenue amounting to no less than eleven lacks of rupees.

The town of Baroach, or the Byragaza of the Greeks, stands on

the northern bank of the Nerbudda river, which is here navigable for shipping, and discharges itself into the sea twenty-five miles from hence. The place is of very remote antiquity, and in the time of Arrian, was celebrated as the emporium of the great inland city of Tagara, now Dowlutabad, in the province of Aurungabad, where the richest productions of India were collected, as precious stones, ivory, myrrh, pepper, ginger, and cotton cloths, and transported through this channel into the western world. Subsequently, as the province of Guzerat escaped in a considerable degree the ravages of the Mussulmans, it became an asylum to numerous tribes and parties, who fled from the devouring sword of those ferocious bigots.

In consequence of this freedom from persecution, a greater variety of sects will here be found, perhaps, than in any other part of India, some agreeing in faith and manners with the generality of the Hindoos, but many differing totally from them in their opinions and customs. Among the most remarkable of these religious persuasions, the Parsees, as the descendants of the ancient Guars, or worshippers of fire, by which name they are now called, may be mentioned as deserving of particular notice. Driven out from their native mountains, in Iran, by the intolerant spirit of Islamism, these followers of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, here obtained a refuge, in common with numerous idolaters, whose conversion could not be effected by compulsion. These Parsees, though they retain the characteristic rite of their early progenitors, and are very superstitious in preserving the perpetual fire, have evidently lost the recondite mysteries which were enveloped in the sacred symbol of the Deity among the primeval inhabitants of the east. At present they constitute but a small body, even in the province of Guzerat, where, according to a census taken in 1807, their

number amounted to little more than three thousand, in a population of six millions. There are, however, some persons among them of shrewd understandings, which they have cultivated in such a manner as to gain the friendship of many oriental scholars of the highest character, who have acknowledged their obligations to them for much curious information respecting the religion and literature of India and Persia. But the rigid Mohammedans still continue to hold them in abhorrence, and scruple not to charge them, as the old Arabians did, with scandalous practices, particularly that of immolating, in secret, human victims, as the most acceptable offerings to the divinity.

Before the conquest of this district of Baroach, and its annexation to the British empire, robberies, attended with violence, were very [illegible] here; but the effect of the change of government soon appeared in the decrease of these outrages. The piratical depredations, also, which were wont to be so frequent in the Arabian sea, [illegible] along the western coast, from the Gulph of Cambay to the mouth of the Indus, have been in a great measure suppressed, owing to our naval superiority, and possession of the four principal ports of Surat, Baroach, Cambay, and Gogo.

[illegible] an island in the river Nerbudda, ten miles from the city of Baroach, grows the most remarkable Banyan tree in all India. It is called by the name of Kuveer Bur, an honorific of a famous saint, who, tradition says, was here buried alive by his followers, pursuant to his directions. It was once much larger than at present, but the floods have carried away the banks in many parts, and with them those parts of the tree as had thus far extended its roots. What remains, however, is about two thousand feet in circumference when measured round the principal stems; but the overhanging branches

cover a much larger space. The chief trunks of this tree, which in si greatly exceed our largest oaks, amount to three hundred and fifty; th smaller stems, forming themselves into strong supporters, are more tha three thousand, while every one of these is continually casting ou new branches, and pendent roots, which in time, when they hav fastened their fibres in the soil, will form trunks, and become th parents of a new progeny, agreeable to the minute description o this wonder of the vegetable world, drawn by Milton:

> The fig-tree, or this day to Indians known
> In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms,
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade,
> High overarched, and echoing walks between.

Kuveer Bur is famous throughout India, for its vast extent and uncommon beauty; armies may encamp under its umbrageous branches, which afford an ample habitation to innumerable tribes of wood pigeons, peacocks, and all the choral varieties of the groves. While the natives, who venerate the tree as the symbol of a prolific deity, resort to it at particular seasons on a religious account, the English, in their shooting excursions, spend weeks together beneath its cool and verdant shade.

After the capture of Baroach, Colonel Woodington proceeded to reduce the district of Chanipaneer, the only remaining territory belonging to Scindiah in Guzerat. Having made himself master of the town by assault, the colonel summoned the adjacent fort of Powanghur to surrender, with which demand the Killedar, relying upon the elevation and strength of his situation, refused to comply. On this a battery was immediately erected against the fort, and after a

breach had been effected in the inner walls, and another almost rendered practicable in a tower at the angle of the outer one, the garrison on the morning of the seventeenth of September offered to capitulate, on condition of receiving protection for their persons and property. To these terms the colonel assented, with the proviso that the breach in the inner wall should be immediately put into the possession of one company of sepoys. Upon this the garrison advanced another proposition, that the arrears of pay due to them from Scindiah should be discharged by our government, which being refused, and the fire continuing, the original terms were acceded to, and the fort evacuated, about four in the afternoon. Had the surrender been deferred, it was the intention of our commander to have stormed the [illegible] the next morning; but it is probable that the garrison were [illegible]ated by the persuasion that if they persevered in making a [illegible]ore resistance to the British troops, the chance was that their [illegible]unication with the upper fort would have been cut off, in [illegible] case they had no other way to escape than by the road which [illegible]wn past our battery. Powaughur is an immense rock, about six [illegible]ed yards high, nearly perpendicular every way, and inaccessible [illegible]t on the north side, which is fortified with five walls.

Kalla Killa, or the upper fort, on the summit of the mountain, which gives protection to a celebrated Hindoo temple, is deemed impregnable, the only approach to it being by a flight of two hundred and forty steps.

Thus the operations of the army of Bombay in Guzerat were planned with judgment, and executed with celerity, which reflected the greatest honour upon the skill of the commander, and the conduct of his troops.

CHAPTER XI.

Prosecution of the War by General Wellesley.—Colonel Stevenson takes Possession of Boorhanpoor.—Capture of Asseerghur.—Gallant Affair of Captains Baynes and O'Donnel.—Suspension of Hostilities with Scindiah.—Battle of Argaum.—Capture of Gawilghur.—Peace concluded with the Rajah of Berar.—Affair of Major General Campbell against the Pindarees.—Peace concluded with Scindiah.

THE confederates, having collected the remains of their army after the battle of Assye, moved to the westward along the banks of the Taptee, apparently with the view of proceeding southward by the road leading from the Caserbary Ghaut and Ahmednaghur to Poonah. General Wellesley upon this determined not to descend the Adjuntee Ghaut, but to remain in the south, and there to regulate his movements by those of the enemy.

Colonel Stevenson, however, was directed to continue his route to Boorhanpoor, of which on the sixteenth of October, he took possession without opposition. At his approach, the enemy's infantry retired towards the Nerbudda in a state of complete disorganization; in consequence of which, the colonel resolved immediately to attack Asseerghur, for which place he commenced his march on the seventeenth. The day following, having reconnoitred the fort in person, and ascertained that a favourable opportunity for attacking the Pettah presented itself, he gave his orders accordingly, and with such effect, that a lodgement was made within one hundred and fifty yards of the lower

wall of the fort. The same day, Colonel Stevenson sent a flag of truce, demanding of the Killedar to surrender the place, but receiving no satisfactory answer, the troops in the Pettah were reinforced by a battalion the same evening, and preparations were made for carrying on the siege. These were pursued with so much alacrity during the nineteenth, that two batteries were ready to be opened at two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day; one to breach the upper wall, and another of four brass twelve pounders to destroy the defences of the lower one.

In the meantime, the communication was still continued with the Killedar, but without any relaxation of the works against the fort, as there was reason to believe that the negotiation was protracted that Scindiah might have time for advancing to its relief. Previous, however, to the opening of the batteries, the Killedar was informed that the only terms on which his surrender would be accepted were, that the garrison should march out with their private property, be allowed to go where they thought proper, and receive for their arrears of pay twenty thousand rupees.

One hour after the opening of the batteries, a white flag was thrown out, the signal agreed upon in case these terms were acceded to: and hostages were sent down, with an engagement that the fort should be delivered up the next morning on the proposed conditions. This was accordingly done, and the garrison, with their private effects and liberty, were allowed the full sum that had been promised them. Three days previous to this, nine European officers of different nations, including one Englishman of the name of *Mars*, four serjeants, and one matross, delivered themselves up to the British commander.

under the protection of the Governor-general's proclamation of the twenty-ninth of August.

While these operations were thus vigorously prosecuted, General Wellesley arrived at Poolmery, about sixteen miles from Aurungabad where, learning that the enemy had not advanced to the southward, as he had been led to expect, and having, therefore, reason to suppose that their design was to interrupt the proceedings of Colonel Stevenson, he, on the sixteenth of October, marched to the northward, and descended the Ghaut on the nineteenth. Scindiah in the interim took the same direction, but on finding that General Wellesley had returned, he halted, and on the eighteenth was at Aboon, on the Taptee. The Rajah of Berar had already separated from him, and was gone, according to report, towards Chandore; but the general had some reason to suspect the truth of this story, which appeared to be spread with a view to draw him to the southward again. However, as Colonel Stevenson had now occupied Asseerghur, the last of Scindiah's possessions in the Deccan, the general thought him fully equal to any thing that could be sent against him; and therefore determined to re-ascend the Ghaut immediately, and direct his operations against the troops of the Rajah of Berar, who, according to authentic accounts, had passed through the hills which form the boundary of Candeish, and had moved towards the Godavery. Accordingly, the major-general, on the twenty-fifth of October, ascended the Adjuntee Ghaut, and continuing his march to the southward, on the twenty-ninth passed Aurungabad.

The Rajah had advanced gradually to the eastward, and was at Lakeegaun, about twenty miles north from Patton, when General

Wellesley arrived at Aurungabad, and between that night and the night of the thirty-first, during the whole of which time the general was in his neighbourhood, the rajah moved his camp five times.

On the thirty-first, he detached a body, consisting of five thousand horse, to endeavour to intercept a convoy, consisting of fourteen thousand bullocks, which was going forward to join the troops on the frontier. This convoy was protected by three companies of the Madras native infantry, with two three pounders under Captain Baynes; which detachment, with four hundred Mysore horse, had for some time been employed in convoying grain from the districts south of the Godavery to General Wellesley's camp, and by a company from the subsidiary force, and two companies from the corps serving at Hydrabad, under Captain Seton.

They had marched from the Godavary on the morning of the thirty-first, and reached Anaper, where they were attacked, but succeeded in gallantly beating off the enemy, and in securing the convoy, which arrived safely, notwithstanding the great superiority of numbers which they had to encounter.

A similar act of bravery was performed by Captain O'Donnel, of the first regiment of native cavalry, who was attacked by a large body of the enemy's horse, and of peons, on his march from Ahmednaghur to join Major-General Campbell, with a company of the first battalion of the twelfth regiment, under Lieutenant Morgan, and the supernumerary native noncommissioned officers, heretofore belonging to corps in camp, and lately drafted into the extra battalions.

Having with great difficulty reached the village of Corjet Canaygaun Captain O'Donnel there took post for the better security of his sma

party, which was again attacked with additional violence. After r peatedly repulsing the enemy's infantry, who, to the amount of thr hundred, had entered the village at different parts, keeping up galling fire from the houses and streets on our little force, which wa moreover threatened by one thousand two hundred horse, that wer hovering round. Captain O'Donnel barricaded and otherwise strength ened such parts as he thought he could best defend. Here he remained valiantly resisting all the attempts of the enemy, during two days an two nights, and killing in three brisk encounters a number far exceed ing the whole of his party, who were at last relieved from their perilous situation by three companies of the second and third regiments, pur posely sent to their assistance from Ahmednaghur, a distance of forty miles, and who fortunately arrived on the morning of the thirtieth o September.

After the capture of Asseerghur, by Colonel Stevenson, the unre mitting activity of General Wellesley was still directed to the variou military objects in his view. But Scindiah, seeing all his grand schemes of ambition subverted, his French establishment and alliance destroyed, his provinces conquered, and his strong forts in the Deccan, Guzerat, and Hindoostan, captured, felt that he had no resource left but the old Mahratta policy of negotiating for peace, to gain time, and thereby to recruit his means for prosecuting the war. Accordingly, on the eleventh of November, he sent an ambassador to General Wellesley's camp at Jaum, with a proposal to treat for peace. The general, aware of the real object of his mission, but solicitous to show by his conduct the pacific disposition of the British government, received the overture with the most marked demonstration of satisfac-

tion. After various conferences, on the twenty-third of November a suspension of hostilities was agreed to between Scindiah and the British armies in the Deccan and the Guzerat; the principal condition of which truce was, that the army of the former should occupy a position forty miles east of Elichpoor, and that the latter should not advance farther into the dominions of Scindiah.

During the progress of this negotiation, the Rajah of Berar had retired towards his own dominions, while the major-general descended the mountains by the Rajoorah pass, for the purpose of co-operating with Colonel Stevenson, who was then proceeding to the attack of Gawilghur, belonging to the rajah, with whom no cessation of hostilities had taken place.

On the twenty-eighth of November, the British troops under General Wellesley came up with a considerable body of Scindiah's and the Berar cavalry, accompanied by the greater part of Rugajee Bhoosla's regular infantry, and a large portion of artillery; and as Scindiah had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce which he had himself sought, the general resolved, notwithstanding the remonstrances and protestations of the ambassador, who was still in his camp, to attack the enemy with all possible vigour. He immediately, therefore, moved forward to Parterly, where he was joined by Colonel Stevenson, and found that the confederates had retired from that very spot, their rear being still discernible from a lofty tower in the vicinity. The day was still extremely hot, and the troops were so fatigued that the general felt inclined to postpone the pursuit until the evening; but he had scarcely halted, when large bodies of the enemy's horse were noticed in front, with whom the Mysore horse skirmished during

part of the day; and when the general moved out to push forward the picquets of the infantry, to support the Mysore cavalry, and to take up the ground of our encampment, the whole army of the confederates was perceived, formed in a long line of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, extending a front of five miles on the plains of Argaum, immediately in front of that village, and about six miles from Pattely, at which place the general intended to have encamped.

Though it was late in the day, yet, finding that it was the resolution of the enemy to risk an action, General Wellesley made no hesitation, but instantly advanced with his whole army in one column, in a direction nearly parallel to the enemy's line, and with the British cavalry leading. The enemy's infantry and guns were in the left of their centre, with a body of cavalry also on their left. Scindiah's army, consisting of one very heavy body of cavalry, was on the right, having upon its own right a body of Pindarrees and other light troops. In the rear of their long line stood the village, with the gardens and enclosures of Argaum, and in their front a plain, which, however, was much cut by watercourses. The united armies were commanded by Scindiah in person, and Munnoo Bappoo, brother to the Rajah of Berar. As the British army neared the confederates, it was drawn up in two lines, the first consisting of the infantry, the second of the cavalry; and the right wing was advanced in order to press on the enemy's left, whilst our left and rear were covered by the Mogul and Mysore horse.

No sooner had the British come pretty close, than the seventy-fourth and seventy-eighth regiments were attacked by a large body of Persian troops, who maintained a most desperate conflict for some time, but were at length totally destroyed: at the same time, a charge of

Scindiah's cavalry was repulsed with great bloodshed by the first battalion of the sixth regiment, when the whole hostile line gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation and confusion, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition in the hands of the victors. Though late in the evening, yet, as it was moonlight, they were pursued by the cavalry, who cut off vast numbers, and captured the whole of their elephants and baggage. All the British troops were under arms till a late hour in the night.

Major-General Wellesley, in his report of this action, particularly praised the conduct and bravery of the seventy-fourth and seventy-eighth regiments: high encomiums were also passed on Colonel Stevenson for his advice and assistance; on the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, for the manner in which he led on the British cavalry; and on Lieutenant-Colonels Wallace, Adams, (who commanded Lieutenant-Colonel Harness's brigade, the latter being absent on account of severe indisposition) Haliburton, Macleare, Pogson, and Major Huddlestone, who commanded brigades of cavalry and infantry: to Major Campbell, commanding the ninety-fourth regiment: to Captain Beauman, commanding the artillery, with the division under the major-general's immediate command; to Captain Burke, commanding the artillery, with the subsidiary force; and to the officers of the staff belonging to both divisions. The major-general also reported the Mogul cavalry, under Sokbut Khan, and the Mysore cavalry, under Bistnapah Pondit, as having distinguished themselves. The former took a standard from Scindiah's troops.

Our loss amounted to three hundred and forty-six men, killed and wounded, and forty-four horses. The officers wounded were Captain

J. M. Vernon, of the second battalion of the twelfth regiment of native infantry, Lieutenant Laughlands, of His Majesty's seventy-fourth regiment, and Lieutenant A. Turner, of the first battalion of the third regiment native infantry. Of the subsidiary force, Captains Burke and Dalrymple of the artillery, Lieutenant Barnby of the sixth regiment of cavalry, Lieutenants James Donald, John Robertson, and Frederick Campbell, of His Majesty's ninety-fourth regiment.

As the loss of the English army in the action was comparatively trivial, the Major-General resolved to lose no time in accomplishing the reduction of Gawilghur, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, and about thirty-two miles from Elichpoor.

The fortress stands on a lofty and rocky eminence, in the midst of the mountainous ridge running between the sources of the Poonah and Taptee rivers. It consists of an inner fort, fronting the north, where the rock is inaccessible; which citadel is defended by an outer fort that entirely covers it to the north and west. The walls, which are all strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers, have three gates, one to the south, leading to the inner fort; one to the north, which leads to the outer fort; and another communicating with the third wall. The ascent to the first of these gates is very steep and difficult; that to the second is by a road used for the intercourse between the garrison and the country to the south, but leading no farther than the gate itself. This road is extremely narrow, and from its passing round the west side of the fort is every where exposed to its fire. The road to the northern gate is from the village of Lanbada, and is constructed on ground level with that of the fort. As this last road leads to Lanbada through the mountains for about thirty miles from Elich-

poor, it was obvious that the difficulty and labour of moving ordnance and stores to the village would be very great. Notwithstanding the inconvenience arising from this circumstance, after making enquiry at Elichpoor, it appeared that no other point of attack was so advantageous as this, and therefore it was immediately adopted.

Colonel Stevenson had equipped his corps at Asseerghur for the siege of Gawilghur, for which service it had long been destined: and it was now determined that he should make the principal attack by Lambada, while General Wellesley, with his own division, and all the cavalry, covered his operations, assisting them also if requisite by other attacks to the southward and westward.

On the sixth of December, the first battalion of the second regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Chalmers, and two companies of the ninety-fourth, and the first battalion of the sixth regiment, under Captain Maitland, were detached; the former to drive in the enemy from the ground which they occupied southward of the fort, and the latter to seize the fortified village of Damergaum, which covers the entrance to the mountains by the road which Colonel Stevenson had to pass; also to protect the reconnoitring parties, and to repair the roads in the mountains: in all which objects these detachments succeeded.

On the seventh, both divisions marched from Elichpoor; General Wellesley proceeding towards the south side of Gawilghur, and Colonel Stevenson through the mountains, by Damergaum. From that day till the twelfth, on which Colonel Stevenson broke ground near Lambada, the troops in his division went through much laborious service, which it required the utmost perseverance to surmount. The heavy ordnance and stores were dragged by hand over moun-

tains, and through ravines, for a distance of thirty miles, along road previously formed by the troops themselves.

In the night of the twelfth, the colonel erected two batteries, fronting the north face of the fort, one consisting of two iron eighteen-pounders, and three iron twelve-pounders, to breach the outer fort and the third wall; the other, mounting two twelve-pounders, and two five and a half inch howitzers, to destroy the defences on the point of attack. The same night, General Wellesley, on his side, constructed a battery of two iron and two brass twelve-pounders on the mountain, with a view, if possible, to breach the wall near the southern gate, or at least to divert the attention of the garrison. Unfortunately, the iron guns could not be moved into the battery, with all the exertions of the troops, and the brass guns produced but little effect: however, on the thirteenth in the morning, a heavy fire was opened from all these batteries, and on the night of the fourteenth, the breaches in the walls of the outer fort were practicable. The storming party, destined to enter at the breach, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny, consisted of the flank companies of the ninety-fourth regiment, and of the native corps in Colonel Stevenson's division, supported by the ninety-fourth regiment, and the brigades of Lieutenant-Colonel Haliburton, and Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, in reserve; while at the same time two attacks were to be made on the southern side, to draw the enemy's attention to this quarter: one under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, consisting of the seventy-fourth regiment, five companies of the seventy-eighth, and the first battalion of the eighth regiment of native infantry, on the southern gate; and one under Lieutenant-Colonel Chalmers, consisting of five companies of

the seventy-eighth, and the first battalion of the tenth regiment, on the north-west gate. These latter dispositions were designed only to deceive the enemy, in regard to the real point of assault on the north, unless, indeed, an opportunity offered, by blowing open the gates, of communicating with detachments from Colonel Stevenson's corps, and thereby entering the fort.

At ten in the morning of the fourteenth, the three parties advanced nearly at the same time. The detachment of Colonel Chalmers arrived at the north-west gate just as the enemy were attempting to escape through it, from the bayonets of the assailants under Colonel Kenny, and he therefore entered without difficulty. The wall of the inner fort, in which no breach had been made, was then to be carried. After some attempts upon the gate of communication between the inner and outer forts, a place was found which afforded a possibility of escalading the wall. This service was performed by Captain Campbell, with the light infantry of the ninety-fourth regiment, who, having mounted the wall, opened the gate for the storming party, and the fort was shortly in our possession. The garrison, which was numerous and well armed with the company's new muskets and bayonets, consisted of Rajpoots, and part of Beny Sing's regular infantry, which had escaped from the battle of Argaum, and commanded by that chief himself. Vast numbers of them were killed, particularly at the different gates: but on our side the loss was much below what might have been expected, amounting, during the siege, and in the storm, to no more than one hundred and twenty-six men, among whom were Lieutenant Young of the second battalion of the seventh regiment of native infantry, killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny of the first battal-

lion, eleventh regiment, and Lieutenant Farlby of the second battalion of the seventh regiment of native infantry, wounded.

In the fort were found fifty-two pieces of ordnance of various calibre, upwards of two thousand stand of English arms, one hundred and fifty wall pieces, carrying balls from half a pound to one pound each, and a variety of country arms.

General Wellesley, in his report, observed, that in the achievement of this capture all the good qualities of British troops had been conspicuous to a degree seldom witnessed. These operations, and those in the north, brought the war to a speedy conclusion, as the Rajah of Berar, alarmed for his capital, and sensible of his inability to resist the progress of the British arms, even in that mountainous country into which the war was now carried, saw no alternative but to sue for an immediate and separate peace. Immediately, therefore, after the capture of Gawilghur, the rajah deputed an ambassador to General Wellesley, who was encamped at Deogaum, and by whom the mission was received with the sincerest demonstrations of respect, and such frankness as proved that the object of his government in going to war was not conquest, but security.

The negotiation was in consequence conducted with that despatch and decision by which all the services of this distinguished officer have been characterized. It commenced on the sixteenth of December; and on the day following the treaty was concluded.

Major-General Wellesley, in order to press the war to a close, now gave notice to Scindiah's vakeels, who were still in his camp, that he was desirous of putting an end to the agreement made on the twenty-third of November for the suspension of hostilities, and that he

should therefore consider it as void from the twenty-seventh of the current month.

This notification had the desired effect; for when the head of the broken confederacy found himself left without an ally, and exhausted in all his resources, he despatched his ministers, Retal Punt, and Kavel Nyn, to the British camp, where they arrived on the twenty-third of December, stating explicitly that it was the desire of their master to put an end to hostilities, for which purpose they were fully empowered to conclude a treaty of peace. In reply to this, and to preclude every pretext for delay, General Wellesley at once explained to the ambassadors the only terms on which he would consent to treat, requiring from them a direct and categorical answer.

In the meanwhile, Major-General Campbell, who commanded the reserve, received information on the twenty-seventh of December that a large body of Pindarees, amounting to ten thousand horsemen and peons, had crossed the Kistna at the Daroor Gaut, and were proceeding towards the Toombudra and the company's frontier, with the intention of intercepting our convoys, and ravaging the country. These plunderers were headed by a Mussulman, who assumed the character of a Faqueer, and the name of the late Dhoondia Waugh. The depredations already committed by the marauders, their manifest intention of passing the Toombudra, and the extensive evils which they were likely to occasion, not only in the countries of the company, but in those of the friendly powers, rendered the immediate dispersion of such a lawless force absolutely necessary. To accomplish this object with promptitude, Major-General Campbell commenced his march, on the twenty-eighth of December, with the cavalry and the

flank companies of the infantry of his division. The next morning he reached Jallyhall, where a party of predatory horse, sent to watch his motions, were surprised by the cavalry camp colour-men, attending upon Major Strahan to mark out the ground of the British encampment, and the Chief Courag Gawran, a notorious plunderer, with several officers, were brought in prisoners. Major-General Campbell recommenced his march towards Moodiannoor the same evening, and continued it all night, whereby he had the good fortune to come up with the objects of his pursuit, who were entirely ignorant of his approach, as the day dawned, on the thirtieth of December; when finding them in confusion, he pushed with the cavalry into the centre of their camp. In less than an hour the affair terminated, when two thousand of the enemy being killed, and upwards of one thousand wounded, or taken prisoners, the remainder threw down their arms, and sought safety in flight, dispersing in all directions. It was rather an unfortunate circumstance, however, that three thousand of their horse, under Jittim Kakar, a well-known character, had moved, the day previous to Major-General Campbell's arrival, for a plundering excursion towards Gajender Ghur, and thus escaped sharing the same fate.

The leader of the party, Mahomed Beg Khan, was wounded and taken prisoner; while the whole of the baggage and the bazaars, with upwards of twenty thousand Brinjarry bullocks, fell into our hands. There were four Frenchmen in this plundering horde; and one of them, who was killed, had the appearance of a person above the common rank; the others escaped on good horses. This gallant affair was achieved with very little loss on our side, having only two men killed, and

fifteen wounded; among whom were Captain Robert Travers, of the twenty-second light dragoons, and Quarter-Master Ashton, of the same regiment. The fatigue which the troops underwent was very great; yet the flank companies of the thirty-third regiment, after marching thirty miles, were up with the cavalry, and had their full share in the destruction of this formidable band.

On the day which gave this blow to the Mahratta power, the negotiation with Scindiah's ambassadors was brought to a conclusion, through the firmness of General Wellesley, upon whom no artifices could prevail to induce procrastination; and the treaty of peace between the British government and Scindiah was therefore duly signed on the thirtieth of December in the camp at Surje Anjengaun.

CHAPTER XII.

Review of the principal Events of the War.—Particulars of the Treaties.—General Joy throughout India.—Address from the Inhabitants of Calcutta to the Governor-General.—Parliamentary Thanks.—Other Testimonies of public Approbation.

THUS terminated one of the shortest wars perhaps upon record; but however limited the space of time might be which it occupied, a variety of events were crowded into it, which for splendour and importance will not easily be paralleled, and certainly have never been surpassed in the military history of British India. The rapidity with which the achievements succeeded each other tended in some degree to lessen the effect of them separately, by hurrying the public mind from one occurrence to another of similar brilliancy. Yet this peculiar feature of the campaign constituted, in fact, its greatest glory, by evincing the masterly genius that formed the plan of operations in such a manner, that the whole were carried into execution nearly at the same point of time, in the most distant parts of India. Thus movements in the remotest provinces were so combined as to prove reciprocally beneficial, and powerfully co-operative, in facilitating the general object.

By this means, also, while confidence was felt throughout the several divisions of the British and allied forces, those of the enemy were dispirited by diversified attacks, and multiplied defeats, which came upon them in such quick succession as left them without a rallying

point in which their chiefs might trust for the renovation of their broken fortunes. Scarcely were they apprised of one disaster before they received the intelligence of another, which as suddenly was followed by a discomfiture still more mortifying in itself, and injurious in its consequences.

While their attention was fixed in efforts to arrest the progress of the British arms in one quarter, a call was made upon them to stop the current in an opposite direction. The loss of a battle was succeeded by the fall of a fortress; and when the confederates sought to retrieve these misfortunes by their conjunct resources, they were alarmed with the fatal intelligence of the capture of their most valuable provinces. All this was the result of that consummate judgment which left nothing to the casualty of events, but took care to provide for the prosecution of the war, by giving motion to all its means at the same moment.

Thus, when the commander-in-chief began his march against the enemy's frontier in the north, on the seventh of August, Major-General Wellesley opened the campaign in the Deccan with the capture of the town and fortress of Ahmednaghur. On the twenty-ninth of the same month General Lake dispersed the formidable force assembled near Coel under Perron, and the same day was distinguished by the storm and capture of Baroach, in Guzerat. The fall of Allyghur, on the fourth of September, preluded the defeat of the collected force which covered Delhi; and within that period the operations in the Deccan were carried on with unremitted vigour and uniform success by Colonel Stevenson; and at the same time the

campaign was opened with equal splendour on the eastern side, when Colonel Harcourt, on the fourteenth, took Manickpatam, in Cuttack, and on the eighteenth gained possession of Juggernaut; while Captain Morgan, on the twenty-first, occupied the port of Balasore, on the coast of Orissa. These advantages, in that quarter, were answered by corresponding ones at the western extremity of India, where Colonel Woodington, within the same interval of time, reduced Champaneer and Powanghur.

While General Wellesley was contending in the Deccan against an immense disparity of force, over whom he triumphed at the memorable battle of Assye, which was fought on the twenty-third of September, the commander-in-chief pursued his course with unabated energy, in the defeat of the enemy before Agra, on the tenth of October: the capture of which city was followed within a week by the surrender of the fort of Akbarabad, the key of Hindoostan.

During these operations, others were carried on, contributary to the general cause, by the gallant officers who were entrusted with the direction of distinct services. The principal of these were the defeat of Shumsheer Behadur, by Colonel Powell, the storm and capture of Barabuttee, in Cuttack, by Colonel Harcourt, and the taking of the town of Boorhanpoor, and the fort of Asseerghur, called the key of the Deccan, by Colonel Stevenson. On the first of November the death-blow was given to the Mahratta power by the battle of Laswaree, and on the twenty-eighth of the same month the confederacy, which called forth these extraordinary efforts, was dissolved by the battle of Argaum.

In furtherance of the same great object, and to prevent if possible

the recurrence of hostilities, the operations of the war did not relax in consequence of these victories and acquisitions; on the contrary, the whole of the original plan was carried into effect even when the pride of the enemy was humbled to the dust. On the fourth of December, Calpee, in Bundelcund, was captured by Colonel Powell: on the fourteenth, General Wellesley reduced Gawilghur; on the thirtieth, ten thousand Pindarrees were destroyed by Major-General Campbell; and the next day this important year closed with the taking possession of Sumbalpore, in the north-east of Berar, by Colonel Broughton.

Thus the seat of war, extending over the continent of India, exhibited in the short space of four months as many general battles, eight regular sieges and storming of fortresses, without including that of Gwalior, which was not captured till the beginning of the next year; in all of which, British valour prevailed over accumulated obstacles, the combination of formidable powers, and every advantage arising from local position, military means, and numerical strength.

These signal successes added to the British empire the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges, and secured the free navigation of the former river by the possession of Delhi, Agra, and Calpee, with an important tract of country along its right bank. Besides these acquisitions, our government obtained the greater part of the province of Bundelcund, the whole of Cuttack in Orissa, and the most valuable territory in Guzerat; thereby securing the navigation along that immense coast, from the mouths of the Ganges to that of the Indus; while in the Deccan our frontier received an increase of strength, as well as that of our allies, the Nizam and the

Paiswah. Such were the beneficial results of this extraordinary contest, to which the British government in the east was impelled by the restless ambition and intrigues of the Mahratta confederates, who instead of reducing our power, experienced its force in the loss of their own military strength and reputation. Their numerous armies amounting on an average to two hundred and fifty thousand men, were defeated in every engagement; while the corps, organized by their French auxiliaries, consisting at the least of forty thousand more, and upon whom the fullest reliance was placed, were completely destroyed: in all which reverses the confederates left in the hands of the victors upwards of one thousand pieces of cannon, with ammunition, treasure, and stores, in proportion.

Such were the trophies gained in this brilliant war, which placed the British interests upon a firm foundation, and secured them, as effectually as human wisdom and valour could provide, against the hostile attempts of Indian confederacies and European machinations. By the treaty concluded with the Rajah of Berar, that chieftain ceded to the East India company in perpetuity the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore, also the several territories, the revenues of which had been previously collected by him, in conjunction with the Soubahdar of the Deccan, together with those lying westward of the river Wurdah. But it should here be observed that these last districts were afterwards assigned by our government to the Soubahdar, in conformity to a particular treaty concluded with the Nizam on the twenty-eighth of April, 1804.

The rajah also bound himself, explicitly, never to retain in his service any persons belonging to countries and states with whom we

might be at war; nor to take into his employ any British subject, whether European or Indian, without the express consent of our government.

On the other side, it was agreed that the forts of Nermallah and Gawilghur, with the contiguous districts, to the annual value of four lacs of rupees, should be restored to the rajah; that the river Wurdah, from its source in the Injardee hills, to its junction with the Godavery, should be the future boundary between the dominions of this prince and those of the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and that no aid or countenance should be given to any discontented tributaries, dependants, or subjects of the rajah. And for the further maintenance of the relations of amity between the contracting parties to this agreement, it was stipulated that accredited ministers from each government should constantly reside at their respective courts.

In the treaty with Dowlut Row Scindiah, that chief ceded to the English, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights in the Dooab, or country situate in northern Hindoostan, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, together with all his possessions and interests in the districts to the northward of the dominions of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodpoor, and of the Ranah of Gohud. In the next place, he ceded to the English, in perpetual sovereignty, the fort and territory of Baroach, in the province of Guzerat, and the fort and territory of Ahmednaghur in the Deccan, which last the British government restored to his highness the Paishwah, the former proprietor. Scindiah further ceded all territories which belonged to him before the war, situate to the south of the Adjuntee hills, in the Deccan, including the fort and district of Jalnapore, the town and

district of Gaundapore, and all other lands between that range of mountains and the river Godavery. By another article, this chief renounced for ever all claims upon the Emperor Shah Aulum, and engaged never again to interfere in the affairs of that monarch. Lastly, he also pledged himself, as the Rajah of Berar had done, to retain no Frenchman in his service, or the subjects of powers in a state of hostility to Great Britain; nor any of our own, without permission.

On the part of the English, it was agreed to restore to Scindiah the fort of Asseerghur and the city of Boorhanpoor, in the Decean, and the forts of Dohud and Powanghur, with the territories in Candeish and Guzerat, appertaining to these forts. Secondly, to allow Scindiah, under the protection of the British government, to retain possession of certain lands, which he had long held in his family, as a gift from the emperors; and that other states, situate in the provinces conquered by us in Hindoostan, which were held in Jaghire by persons belonging to the family of the late Mahajee Scindiah, should remain in the possession of those persons: and further, to prevent any individual from suffering by this arrangement, it was agreed, that the British government should either grant pensions, or lands in Jaghire, to such as Scindiah should name, provided the sum to be paid did not exceed seventeen lacs of rupees a-year. It was also agreed to restore to Scindiah certain lands and villages situate in the dominions of the Paishwah, of which possession had lately been taken by the English and their allies, and which the family of Scindiah had long held as a personal estate. The remainder of the treaty contained the same terms as those settled with the Rajah of Berar; and both were ratified by the Governor-General in Council at Calcutta; the

one with the Rajah of Berar on the fourteenth of January, and that with Scindiah on the thirteenth of February, 1804, to the general joy of the inhabitants in every settlement and town throughout the British dominions; who testified their feelings by public gratulations, which were heightened by the admiration of those counsels, views, and measures, which led to the establishment of a secure and glorious peace. Of the numerous patriotic addresses which came in from all parts of India, on this happy occasion, it may be gratifying here to select that which was presented by the inhabitants of Calcutta, not only on account of its intrinsic merit, but as expressing the general sentiments of those who were most affected by the subject, and the most competent judges of its vast importance.

"To his Excellency the most noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, K. P. Governor-General, and Captain-General, &c. &c. &c.

"We, the British inhabitants of Calcutta, beg leave to offer to your Excellency our sincere and heartfelt congratulations on the happy restoration of peace on the continent of India; and on the important national advantages acquired under your Excellency's guidance, by the brilliant success of our arms.

"At a moment when the renewal of war in Europe was justly apprehended, the menacing attitude of the armies assembled by the Mahratta chieftains of Malwa and Berar, and the uncontroled authority exercised by French adventurers over the disciplined troops of Scindiah, could not have been viewed without anxiety. But we were scarcely sensible of insecurity to the public peace, when the

vigour of your Excellency's measures dispelled every alarm; and all apprehension was lost in sentiments of admiration, at the provident wisdom with which the danger had been foreseen, and the promptitude with which it was encountered.

"The previous distinguished events of your Excellency's administration had prepared the way for the signal successes which we have recently witnessed. The conquest of Seringapatam, the restoration of the rightful sovereign of Mysore, the dissolution of the French party at the court of the Nizam, and the peaceful succession of his son to the government of his father's dominions, insured the cordial co-operation of two powers attached to the British government by the firmest ties of interest and gratitude; while the re-establishment of the Paishwah's legitimate authority at Poonah has contributed, in its turn, to the support of the alliance by which it was effected.

"The result has been answerable to the energy with which your Excellency has employed the power and resources of the British government, and of its allies, within the short space of five months, and chiefly in a season hitherto reputed incompatible with military operations. We have seen two of the most formidable among the Mahratta states reduced, by an unexampled succession of the most splendid victories, to an unconditional dependance on British generosity; their numerous troops dispersed; their most important fortresses captured; and their most valuable dominions subdued.

"Our own provinces, and the possessions of our allies, have at the same time displayed the most striking contrast of tranquillity. Their inhabitants, almost unconscious of external war, have enjoyed, in security, the reward of prosperous industry; and the confidence reposed

by all ranks in the faith and stability of the British government has been unequivocally demonstrated by the unprecedented state of public credit, higher at the moment of renewed war with France, and during the arduous contest now happily terminated in India, than in the most flourishing period of profound peace.

"We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of acknowledging, with grateful pride, the conspicuous manner in which the national character for clemency and humanity has been upheld by the strict regularity of our troops, who, in their march through hostile territories, have been welcomed and assisted as benefactors and deliverers. Nor can we suppress the emotions of exultation with which we have seen the venerable representative of the house of Timur rescued from the oppression of a French faction, and received under the protection of the British government.

"The tribute of our applause is due to the gallant conduct of the armies, whose achievements have advanced the honour of the British name in India. Watching their progress with unceasing interest, we have admired in our heroic commander-in-chief, General Lake, the rarest union of zeal and intrepidity with profound skill and considerate humanity. In another quarter, the Honourable Major-General Wellesley has nobly emulated that illustrious example; and the memorable days of Assye and Argaum will be placed, with the signal victories of Delhi and Laswaree, amongst the fairest monuments of national glory. Our brave armies will ever esteem it their highest praise, that by their valour, discipline, exemplary order, contempt of danger, and endurance of hardships, they have shewn themselves

honourable efforts to which they were called by the vigour of y
Excellency's councils.

"The exections of your Excellency in the conduct of the war h
been crowned by its propitious termination, and the British powe
India has been raised to the proudest pre-eminence. By this aus
cious conclusion of a rapid and glorious war, we see the enemies
the British empire humbled; the French influence annihilated; a
allies encouraged; our resources enlarged and solidly established; a
the British dominions in India rendered at once more secure of enjo
ing the advantages of peace, and more capable of repelling the dange
of war. Contemplating these splendid and substantial benefits, w
should do violence to our feelings, did we not tender the testimony
our respect and gratitude for the eminent virtues and exalted talen
exerted by your Excellency for the safety and prosperity of th
valuable portion of the British empire."

In answer to this address, the governor-general expressed hi
satisfaction at the favourable sentiments entertained by the inhabitant
of Calcutta, with regard to the principles which regulated hi
conduct from the origin to the close of the late contest, as well a
to his general administration of public affairs: and after pointing
out the advantages likely to result from the treaties which had just
been concluded, he observed that—"The foundations of our empire
in Asia were now laid in the tranquillity of surrounding nations, and
in the happiness and welfare of the people of India. In addition
to the augmentation of our territories and resources, the peace manifested exemplary faith and equity towards our allies, moderation and
benignity towards our enemies, and a sincere desire to promote the general
prosperity of this quarter of the

now placed was such as suited the character of the British nation, the principles of our laws, the spirit of our constitution, and that liberal policy which becomes the dignity of a great and powerful empire.

"My public duty is discharged to the satisfaction of my conscience," added his Excellency, "by the prosperous establishment of a system of policy, which promises to improve the general condition of the people of India, and to unite the principal native states in the bond of peace, under the protection of the British power."

But the manifestation of public feeling in India was not confined merely to complimentary forms of speech, and eloquent expressions of admiration, on the splendid events that had distinguished the administration of the noble person who was then at the head of the government. The inhabitants of Calcutta unanimously entered into a resolution to erect a marble statue of the Marquis Wellesley, as the most lasting and honourable memorial of his transcendent services, and of their own grateful respect. With the same sentiment of important benefits accruing from the vigorous measures that had been adopted, and so gloriously carried into effect, it was resolved to present a sword of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to General Lake, and another of one thousand pounds value to Major-General Wellesley.

The presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and every inland town of note, appeared equally animated and emulous in testifying their gratitude for the services which had rescued the whole of our eastern settlements from a state of jeopardy, and fixed them upon a basis of permanent security. At the first of these places it was determined to erect a column of granite, as a monument of the brilliant achievements which had distinguished the government of the noble marquis, and [illegible] of the distinguished leaders who had carried [illegible]

plans into execution, together with the names of those gallant men who had fallen in the cause of their country, while leading on their fellow soldiers in the career of victory.

The officers, also, who had the honour of serving under Major-General Wellesley, vying with their comrades in the army of Bengal, presented their commander with a golden vase of the value of two thousand guineas, with an inscription recording the principal event that had been decisive of the war in the Deccan. In conveying to the general this mark of their esteem, the officers added their sincere wishes for his future welfare and prosperity; and expressed their hopes that when the public claim on his talents should allow him repose, this vase might give pleasure to his social hours, by bringing to his remembrance events that added so much to his renown.

In England, the result of this war afforded no less satisfaction to all who had a comprehensive view of the importance of our dominion in the east, and of the policy necessary for its stability. The thanks of parliament were voted to the governor-general, and to the commanders, officers, and soldiers of the several armies which shared the glory of the contest. The high merits of General Lake were duly appreciated in his elevation to the peerage, by the appropriate title of Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree, and of Aston Clinton, in the county of Buckingham; while General Wellesley received the ribband of the military order of the Bath. The Honourable the Court of Directors, and a general court of proprietors of the India Company, also passed distinct resolutions of approbation and thanks, on the conduct of the Marquis Wellesley in the discharge of his public duty, as well as on the particular subject of the military operations during

CHAPTER XIII.

Duplicity of Holkar.—His Correspondence with General Lake.—Murder of British Officers.—Treasonable Correspondence.—Description of Biana.—Forgeries of Holkar.—His extravagant Demands.—Meer Khan's Invasion of Bundelcund.—Measures of Holkar.—Commencement of Hostilities.—March of General Lake.—Description of Joypoor.—Capture of Rampoora.—Retreat of Holkar.—Pursuit by Colonel Monson.—Colonel Murray enters Malwa.—Sufferings of the Grand Army.—Its return to Quarters.—British Detachment destroyed in Bundelcund.—Meer Khan's Attempt on Calpee.—Effects of the hot Winds.—Violent Tempest.—Arrival at Agra.—Successes.—Arrival at Cawnpore.

It was natural to have concluded, after the complete triumph which the British arms had gained over two of the most formidable of the Mahratta states, that no other chieftain in India would be found hardy enough to appear in hostile array against a power, which, instead of being shaken by the late confederacy, had risen with increased resources and glory from the conflict. One turbulent spirit, however, still remained to disturb the general tranquillity; and urged on by the madness of ambition to measure his strength with a government, the potency of whose means could only be equalled by the moderation of its councils, and the vigour of its measures, when necessarily called into action.

The conduct of Jeswunt Row Holkar, during the recent contest, was perfectly in unison with the craft and duplicity of the Mahratta character.

At the beginning of the confederacy, he had given the two principal

concluded a treaty with his old rival, Scindiah, who, by the ins mentality of the Rajah of Berar, purchased the promised assist of Holkar by considerable cessions of territory. But though pledged himself to active exertions in the common cause, yet w hostilities commenced, he evinced no disposition to fulfil his wo and there was, on the contrary, reason enough to believe that losses sustained by Scindiah gave him pleasure rather than regret. Just before the conclusion of the treaties of peace with Scindiah a the rajah, Holkar did, indeed, make a demonstration in their favo by advancing towards Hindoostan, as far as the frontiers of the Raj of Jeypoor, who was under our protection. But whatever change mig have taken place in the vengeful mind of Holkar, on perceiving t threatened subversion of the Mahratta empire; and however much might, under such circumstances, be inclined, from selfish considera tions, to interpose in its behalf, the occasion was passed, and i exceeded is power to retrieve the fallen fortunes of those whom h had treacherously abandoned.

On the settlement of the peace with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, the British government saw no necessity for including Holkar in arrangements with which he had no concern, much less of entering into a separate alliance with that chief. At the same time, as it was an object of policy to keep him quiet, and we had nothing to do with the disputes between him and his brother, it was proposed to conclude an engagement with him, agreeing to leave him in the unmolested exercise of his authority as long as he should abstain from acts of aggression against us and our allies.

It should here be observed, that after the battle of Laswaree, while our army lay encamped at Nahmada

Holkar to General Lake, strongly expressive of his friendly disposition; and yet his conduct even then too plainly falsified his professions, and developed his secret designs. Elated at his success over Scindiah in the battle of Poonah, which was fought on the twenty-fifth of October, 1802, and where he had twenty-eight battalions, fourteen of which were commanded by European officers, besides twenty-five thousand cavalry, and one hundred pieces of cannon, he presumed to levy contributions in the country of the Rajpoots, in the north of Hindoostan, on the pretext that those rajahs were tributaries to Scindiah, though he must have known, at the same time, that they had passed under the protection of our government. Notwithstanding this, he continued to oppress those districts by his exactions; and after ravaging the neighbourhood of Kota, proceeded to threaten the Jeypoor dominions. Upon this, General Lake marched, as already stated, to Biana, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1803, and encamped opposite the pass leading into the Jeypoor rajah's territories. There his Excellency addressed a letter to Holkar, assuring him that though his government had no hostile intentions, it expected that Holkar would desist from committing depredations on the territories of our allies, and required him to withdraw his troops to his own estates, as a proof of the sincerity of his pacific professions.

The enmity of this restless chieftain, however, soon burst through all his hypocritical artificies; and his first act of atrocious barbarity was the murder of three British officers, who bore the rank of captain in his service, named Vickers, Todd, and Ryan. These unfortunate gentlemen, having signified their intention of retiring, in obedience to the proclamation of the governor-general, were placed under confine[illegible] on the pretext that Captain Todd had carrie[illegible]

on a secret correspondence with General Lake, they were brought ou
and their heads being struck off, were exposed on pikes; while suc
was the savage inhumanity of the barbarian, the bodies were denie
the ordinary rite of sepulture. Under the head of Captain Todd
paper was affixed, by order of the murderer, who pretended that
was a letter which that officer had received from the British general
though it was a forgery of the tyrant's own contrivance, as a wretche
screen for his violation of every principle of justice.

The hostile intentions of Holkar were further manifested at the
beginning of February, 1804, by the discovery of a treacherous cor-
respondence carried on with Rundgall Sing and Gholaum Mohammed,
two Rohilla chiefs; and several of the Seiks, whose names were Rao
Sing, Meer Sing, Joude Sing, Goorpul Sing, and Bundgn Sing.
According to an intercepted letter from Rundgall Sing, it appeared
that ten thousand of Holkar's horse, under Rao Pundit, were to be
joined by the conspirators with six thousand of the same description
of force, the whole of which was to overrun the territories of the Com-
pany from Hurdwar to Allahabad and Benares.

It was also determined by this plan, that Gholaum Mohammed, on
being joined by the Seiks, should march from Maudee, and cross the
Ganges at Chellroos or Benar Gauts, while Meer Sing and Rund-
gall Sing crossed that river at the Chuny Gaut, where the water is
shallow; relying confidently for complete success on the circumstance
that there was not a sepoy, as the letter expressed it, all the way
from Hurdwar to Allahabad and Benares.

From the actual position taken up by the forces of Holkar, and his
evident hostility to our government, it was natural to conclude that

the terms proposed to him would not be complied with, but that on the contrary he would still continue to oppress by his unjust demands the friendly states who were under our protection. General Lake, therefore, thought it expedient to make a forward movement; and accordingly, after sending the heavy park of artillery back to Agra, under an escort, he marched from Biana, through the pass, on the ninth of February, 1804. This town, which is of great antiquity, is still a considerable place, and contains many temples, with large well-built houses of stone; while the numerous architectural remains that are scattered in the environs bear testimony to its former extent and magnificence, as the seat of empire, when Agra was no more than a dependent village. The ridge of the hill on which it stands is covered with elegant ruins; and as far as a preference is due to climate, the place was certainly well chosen for an imperial residence, the air being very salubrious, and the country round well cultivated. After a tedious march, the road being very bad for carriages, we encamped at Lomaghur, about midway to Hindown. Several [illegible] which could not [illegible], were plundered, and the [illegible]. The [illegible] tracts, known by the name [illegible], [illegible], and live chiefly by plunder. [illegible] carried off many camels, elephants, and horses, [illegible] spite of the care and precaution that were [illegible] guard against those desperate ruffians, many of whom are [illegible] mounted, and all armed with matchlocks, spears, or tolwars. They often attacked our foragers, and hovered about the camp in large parties, which made it very unsafe to go beyond our videts. Mr. Tyson, a lieutenant in the fifteenth regiment of native infantry,

was cruelly murdered by them, while amusing himself with shooti
one day at Biana, but a short distance from the out-posts.

Some centuries ago, one hundred thousand of these wretches were p
to the sword: notwithstanding which, these tracts, which belong to t
Mahratta rajah, have continued to this day the nursery of thieves a
robbers; and though situate in the heart of Hindoostan, this hilly terr
tory, which is in length, from north to south, about ninety miles, an
reaching within twenty-five miles of Delhi, exhibits little or no culti
vation, though very susceptible of it, owing to the savageness of it
inhabitants. In general there is great scarcity of water; and we wer
obliged to expend considerable labour in digging wells, very deep, i
order to supply our necessities. The day following, the army, after a
short march of six miles, encamped near Surroot, where we halted
till the twentieth of February.

We had been here but one day, when a dragoon of the twenty-seventh
regiment was found murdered near a village at the foot of the hills
on the left of our camp; on which, the commander-in-chief immedi-
ately ordered the village to be burnt to the ground. During our
stay here, the Mewatties frequently repeated their attacks on our
foragers, whereby several lives were lost on both sides; in consequence
of which all officers and soldiers not on duty were prohibited from
passing beyond the picquets or videts. Positive orders were also issued
that no peacocks should be shot, in order to avoid giving offence to
the superstitious Hindoos, who hold this bird in high veneration.

On the twentieth of February, the army marched about fourteen
miles, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hindown, a large

and populous village, with a ruinous wall round it, situate in a very fertile and highly cultivated country. The greatest care was taken for the preservation of the crops; and no standing corn was allowed to be cut down or otherwise damaged. This strict discipline, under which our camp followers were kept, so totally the reverse of the visitations of a Mahratta army, greatly surprised the inhabitants, who expressed their gratitude in strong terms. By taking up this position, General Lake completely covered the principal roads leading into our territories, and was thus enabled to move either way, should the movements of Holkar render the precaution necessary. Our army was reinforced on the twelfth of February by the flank companies of His Majesty's twenty-second regiment, and five companies of the sixteenth native infantry; and on the twenty-first of February by Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cullock's detachment from Gwalior, with the flank companies of the European regiments in the service of the India Company.

While on this ground, General Lake again received letters from Jeswunt Row Holkar, expressive of his pacific disposition. Alluding to the restoration of peace, he affected great satisfaction at the event; and observed, that "while the flame of contention can be extinguished by the water of reconciliation, it is unfit to bring matters to the extremity of war." Holkar then proceeded, after the expression of this liberal sentiment, to make the British general believe that his heart was too friendly to admit of his pursuing any hostile designs against the English or their friends; adding, as a proof of his sincerity, that before he received the letter written to him by General Lake, he had resolved to march homewards, which design he had now begun to

accomplish. He then concluded with stating his intention to send his vakeels hereafter to confirm these pacific declarations, and to explain them more at large.

Though there was sufficient reason to believe that Holkar had neither commenced his march, nor intended it, the commander-in-chief abstained in his answer from any denunciatory language. On the contrary, his Excellency seemed willing to credit the pacific professions of his crafty correspondent; and, adopting the oriental phraseology, was glad that the purity of his mind was unsullied by the dust of enmity or revenge. At the same time, the general candidly apprised Holkar, that should he venture to commit any act of aggression upon powers allied to the British government, duty and necessity would compel us to extend our protection to them. His Excellency concluded his letter by informing Holkar that his correspondence with some discontented chiefs in the Dooab was known, cautioning him against acting upon the suggestions of these evil-disposed persons, upon whom condign punishment was about to fall for their treachery.

Among the persons whose fidelity fell under suspicion, on account of their connexion with Holkar, the most remarkable was the Begum Somroo, in whose name a letter, addressed to that chief, was written, and bearing the impress of her seal, so as to remove all doubts of its authenticity. In this epistle the writer professed a warm friendship for Holkar, an anxious wish for his complete success, giving him also some advice in regard to the proper conduct of his affairs in the cause which he had undertaken against the English, and assuring him of the support of herself, as well as the Seiks and Jauts who were in her

interest. This document was calculated to create hostility against the Begum, and thereby probably of driving that extraordinary woman into an alliance with Holkar, out of revenge and self-defence. When, however, she was made acquainted with the existence of such a paper, and the prejudices it had produced, she lost no time in clearing herself from the imputation which it tended to bring upon her character. In a letter to Colonel Ochterlony, she vindicated herself with great spirit; and observed, that during the space of forty years, in which she had been at the head of her party, no one could ever charge her with an act of treachery. Having disavowed all knowledge of a correspondence with Holkar, the Begum called upon the colonel, as a particular friend, to trace the authors of this infamous forgery, and to make her declaration public, in order to undeceive those who might have been imposed upon by it to her prejudice.

On the eighth of March our army left Hindown, and proceeding by Nunepoora, through another pass in the mountains, reached Ramghur the day following. Here we halted till the twenty-second of the same month; and during our stay two vakeels arrived from Jeswont Row Holkar, who, on the morning of the eighteenth, attended the commander-in-chief in his tent, where they delivered the letters written by their master to his Excellency and Mr. Mercer.

In that addressed to the general, Holkar said, "friendship requires that, keeping in your view the long-existing unanimity between me and the English company, you act according to what my vakeels shall represent to you; and your doing so will be fruitful of benefit and advantage: if not, my country and property are upon the saddle of my horse: and, please God, to whatever side the reins of the horses of my

brave warriors may be turned, the whole of the country in that direction shall come into my possession."

The ambassadors, being desired to communicate what they were charged with on the part of Holkar, entered into an elaborate view of the formidable power and numerous resources of that chief; after which they demanded—first, that he should be permitted to collect the chout, or one-fourth of the landed revenue, agreeably to the custom of his ancestors; secondly, that the territories formerly held by his family, consisting of twelve of the finest districts in the Dooab, and another in Bundelcund, should be ceded to him; thirdly, that the country of Hurreana, which was formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, should in like manner be delivered up; fourthly, that the country now actually in his possession should be guaranteed to him, and a treaty concluded between him and our government similar to what had taken place with Scindiah.

On the first of these requisitions, General Lake contented himself with observing, that having already, in a letter to Holkar, given a positive refusal to the demand, as one that could not possibly be complied with, he was astonished at its being again brought forward. With regard to the countries mentioned in the two following articles, it was simply stated that the claim set up by Holkar was totally unfounded in justice, since part of the territories had long been in the possession of the Warees, and part in that of Dowlut Row Scindiah. The vakeels, instead of discussing the merits of the case, answered, that it would be policy in the English government to grant the demands of Holkar, since, in addition to his own immediate power, he was closely connected with the Rohillas, and all the rajahs in this

quarter, except that of Jeypoor; that the Bhurtpoor rajah had repeatedly urged him to advance; and that he certainly might, if he chose it, depopulate the country.

In the same gasconading spirit the ambassadors proceeded to assert that their master had at his disposal forty thousand Rohillas, and one hundred and fifty thousand horse; that the former had offered to serve three years without pay, for the liberty of plundering the country; and that Holkar himself was a marauder, who, in the event of a defeat, could still continue the same practices, very much to our injury.

To this insolent language, his Excellency replied with becoming brevity, that it was not the custom of the English to boast of their power; but that in the event of a rupture, Holkar would possibly find that he had considerably overvalued his own.

Something having been said in allusion to the treaty concluded between the British government and Scindiah, the ambassadors, without hesitation, ventured to state that their master had received, only twenty days before, a letter from that chieftain, desiring him to make preparations for war, as a formidable French army had landed on the coast, and were coming to his assistance, under the guidance of his father-in-law.

In regard to the fourth demand, the vakeels were informed that his Excellency had repeatedly disclaimed, on the part of our government, all interference in the concerns of his family or estates; but that previously to any arrangement for a treaty, his immediate return homewards was an indispensable point. As Holkar had himself given an explicit assurance to that effect, his agents were now plainly asked

whether any dependence could be placed upon his promise; to which they replied in the negative, unless the propositions of which they were the bearers were fully acceded to. These persons therefore having no power to conclude an arrangement upon any other basis, were desired to return on the following day with the answer of General Lake, who observed to Holkar that any departure from that line of friendship, which it was the wish of the British government to preserve towards him, could result only from his own unprovoked aggression; reminding him also of the necessity of putting his promise into instant execution, by marching back to his own country, instead of continuing with his army in a menacing position on the frontiers of our allies, with the view of enforcing demands, which, even were they otherwise admissible, could be obtained only from the friendship, and never from the fears of the government. His Excellency concluded by recommending Holkar to send vakeels, properly authorised, to enter into agreements suited to the interests and circumstances of both parties.

In the mean time, Meer Khan, then in the service of Holkar, was hovering with a large body of horse on the frontiers of Bundelcund, evidently with the design of invading that province, and the countries to the north of the Betwa. To frustrate this object, Colonel Powell detached the brigade of Colonel Shepherd, and a considerable body of the troops of the Soubahdar of Jansee; and finding that Meer Khan had actually entered the territories of the latter chief, the colonel marched himself on the twentieth of February. After a slight skirmish, however, with the troops of the Soubahdar, Meer Khan, on learning the advance of Colonel Powell, collected his force,

reascended the Ghauts, and fell back to Seronge, leaving the colonel to complete the conquest of the interior of Bundelcund, by the reduction of those fortified places which had not yet submitted to the British government.

On the twenty-third of March, the army under General Lake marched to Ballaherra, a fort situated on a hill which commands the two passes on its right and left. This fort was some years before bombarded by General Duboigne, of which attack it still bore the marks in the dilapidated state of the left bastion and curtain.

At this place Captain Sturrock, the Persian interpreter, was despatched on a mission to the Rajah of Jeypoor; and about this period the commander-in-chief received the copy of a letter written to General Wellesley by Holkar, which put the malignant purposes of that restless and ambitious character out of all doubt. It appeared to have been written early in February: and after demanding, as the purchase of peace, the cession of several provinces in the Deccan, as the property of the Holkar family, concluded with this extraordinary language: "Countries of many hundred coss (a coss being about two English miles) shall be overrun and plundered. General Lake shall no have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacks of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."

These boastings and insults were soon followed by acts of a more serious and provoking nature. Holkar threw aside all reserve, and sent an agent to the camp of Scindiah, soliciting openly his assistance in an immediate attack upon the British possessions; at the same time setting the example by plundering the territories of the Rajah of Jeypoor.

Matters being thus brought to an extremity by these acts of aggression, the commander-in-chief, with the sanction of government, directed his march against Holkar; while orders were given to the officers commanding in the Deccan to co-operate according to the best of their judgment in the measures pursued against that chieftain, by affording the most prompt and vigorous assistance to General Lake, who was advancing from Hindoostan.

In pursuance of these orders, General Wellesley sent instructions to Colonel Murray, commanding the troops in Guzerat, to enter the province of Malwa, for the purpose of prosecuting hostilities in the direction of Indore, the residence of the family of Holkar, while part of the troops stationed above the Ghauts directed their operations against his possessions in the Deccan, of which the only place of strength was Chandore.

On the sixth of April, General Lake marched about ten miles through the pass of Ballaheera, along a road cut with difficulty through the ravines, and encamped at Karowley, in the way to Jeypoor. The army continuing this route, on the ninth reached Secundra, or Secundrapore, a town enclosed by a mud wall, and distant about eighteen coss from Jeypoor. Here we encamped along the banks of a small stream of good water, running close by the town, and which proved peculiarly grateful, after a fatiguing march in a hot season. The country around this place appeared to be well inhabited, and to present every prospect of fertility and cultivation. But in the course of the night, a trooper, belonging to a patroling party, was shot through the body by some matchlock men, who lay concealed in the nullah and the ravine.

On the seventeenth of April, the army marched to P[illegible]

town, with a fort, on an eminence, which from its figure is called Table Rock. This place was besieged by Monsieur Fleury, who put between four and five hundred of the garrison to the sword. The town has a number of neat well-built houses; and the inhabitants, particularly the women, evinced a degree of confidence in our troops very different from what we experienced in other places. There is a manufactory here of course cloth, denominated Khurruwah and Gudge. The fort is nothing more than the high rock itself, nearly four miles in circumference, which, besides being difficult of access, is surrounded with a wall pierced with loop-holes, and having two large bastions at the bottom on one side of the rock, to arrive at which you must go through part of the town. The entrance is near the left bastion, by a very narrow and long wicket, barely wide enough to admit one person at a time. This part of the work is strengthened by a second wall; and hither the inhabitants retire with their property from the predatory Mahratta horse.

A detachment, consisting of the two battalions of the twelfth regiment, and the second battalion of the second regiment of native infantry, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, set out from hence on the eighteenth of April for Jeypoor.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, the army marched eleven miles through a pleasing country to Breeanah, and continuing its route the day following through very bad roads, and a deep sand, encamped at Tonga, about fifteen miles from Jeypoor, the capital of this fine country. This place was founded by Jeysing, a prince no less celebrated for his valour than his eminence as a man of science and an astronomer. The city, which he called Jeynaghur, is

very handsome, and the houses are all built of stone; the streets, which are large and spacious, intersecting each other at right angles.

Here Jeysing erected an observatory similar to those which he constructed at Delhi, Mutra, and Benares; and during his life-time the place was the resort of students and learned men, who received the most liberal encouragement from that eminent patron of the arts. The town is defended by a strong fort built upon a steep rock, round which extends a chain of fortification four miles in circumference. But though the country in general abounds with some of the strongest fortresses in Hindoostan, and the villages are surrounded by walls and ditches, this province is annually subject to the visits of the Mahrattas, who plunder the country, and exact contributions even from the Rajepoots, although the marauders are much inferior to them as soldiers, and individually despised by them.

Jeypour, or Jeynaghur, is situate about one hundred and forty miles west of Agra, in the central parts of Rajpootana; and the country belonging to it comprehends the most populous and fertile part of the Agimeer province, abounding in cattle, and producing wheat, cotton, tobacco, and in general whatever is common to other parts of India, besides rock-salt, which is plentiful, as also copper, alum, blue-stone, and verdigrease. In several of the towns are manufactories of cloth, swords, and matchlocks; so that a considerable trade is carried on here with Benares for fine cloths and tissues; Cashmere for shawls; Guzerat and Tatta for opium, lead, and sheet copper; and with Persia for dried fruits and horses. The importance of Jeypoor has been of late years greatly extended; and its opulence, of course, increased by being made the route of merchants in their entrance into Hindoostan.

From Fonga the army struck into a southerly direction on the third of May, and after halting for the night at Papoogunge, reached Sambow, where it was detained three days by violent storms and rain. At this place the Honourable Major-General St. John left the army on his return to Cawnpore.

After a march of sixteen miles, on the [illegible] encamped at Nurwahee, a large village, which is remarkable for its temples and baths of curious workmanship. [illegible] a hill, on the top of which is an old fort [illegible] hence, on the morning of the tenth of May, [illegible] of the second battalion of the eighth regiment, [illegible] of the twenty-first regiment, and the third regiment [illegible] with a proportion of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Don, was sent against Tonk Rampoora, a Rajapoot town in the possession of Holkar, sixty miles S. by E. from Jeypoor. This fortified town formerly belonged to the Rajah of Jeynaghur, who assigned it to the priest of Mobunt Jograj; but in 1791, the fort, with a territory of the yearly value of sixty thousand rupees, was ceded to Tuckojee Holkar, in whose family it has ever since remained.

Lieutenant-Colonel Don very judiciously took up his encampment-ground before Rampoora, in an opposite direction to the principal entrance, which he had determined to attack, and the gateways of which, but for this precaution, might have been barricadoed by the garrison. The colonel marched at two o'clock in the morning of the fifteenth of May, with the flank and four battalion companies of the second battalion of the eighth regiment, and the flank companies of the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment, with one twelve-

pounder at the head of the column, for blowing open the gates; and another in the rear, to keep in check a body of the enemy that came from Touk, and was for the most part posted outside at a little distance to the right from the first gate. Captain Rabar, with one twelve and four six-pounders, and three companies of the second battalion of the twenty-first, followed in the rear, and took a situation that enabled him to fire upon any part of the works from which the enemy might appear to annoy the assailants. The third regiment of native cavalry, under Major Doveton, was left in camp, ready to pursue the garrison in the event of their flight.

Lieutenant-Colonel Don, with his detachment, advanced undiscovered to within two hundred and fifty yards of the gateway, when a picquet of the Touk battalion on his right fired upon him: but as it did not immediately alarm the garrison, he continued moving on, without taking the smallest notice of them. On coming, however, within one hundred yards of the passage, the garrison commenced a smart fire from the ramparts, and at the same time the colonel perceived a number of the battalion running along the top of the glacis, endeavouring to gain the gateway; but this purpose was prevented by a heavy fire of musketry, which also did considerable execution among the men on the ramparts. The colonel then proceeded to the first gate, and blew it open, continuing his fire of musketry on the works, and dislodging the people who occupied them. The second gate was not shut, being out of repair. The third and fourth gates were also blown open, when the British force entered the town; and while some parties scoured the ramparts, the colonel pushed on with the remainder to a small gateway on the south side of the fort, through which the

enemy were making their escape. The fugitives, driven by the fire of our sepoys on the ramparts to seek their safety in the plain, were attacked in all directions by the third regiment of native cavalry, so that numbers were destroyed both of the garrison and of the Nudjeeb battalion on the outside.

The commander-in-chief, in his general orders of the eighteenth of May, highly approved the promptitude and decision of Lieutenant-Colonel Don, and the gallantry by which he effected the reduction of Rampoora. His Excellency's thanks were also given to Major Doveton, Captain Wood of the engineers, Captain Robbins, and to every officer and soldier of the detachment.

Holkar having thus lost the only footing he had in Hindoostan, north of the Chumbul, hastily re-crossed that river; but was closely pressed on one side by Colonel Monson's detachment, with the troops of Jeypoor and other auxiliaries, while on the south, Colonel Murray, with the troops from Guzerat, was moving against him. The force thus detached against Holkar being therefore deemed fully competent not only to guard against any irruption on his part, but also to defeat him in a general action, if he chose to risk it, General Lake thought it advisable to march the army back into quarters, as the troops were suffering dreadfully in their health from the hot winds, and the cattle were perishing by the want of forage, the ground being entirely parched up in this burning season.

Accordingly, on the eighteenth of May, the remainder of the army broke up from Nurwahee, where we had halted ten days, to give effect to the attack of Rampoora, and marched eight miles to Jilluo, and continuing our march next day through a chain of hills running E. and W.

and over very bad road, we encamped at Muttapore, about sixteen miles distant from our last ground. From hence a party under Captain Bird was detached to Rampoora, with treasure and stores for the forces under Colonels Monson and Don.

After halting during the twentieth, the army marched at one o'clock the following morning eighteen miles to Bajarow, a large village, with a fort built on a rock. The roads were very bad, the first part being through defiles, and the latter over a deep sand; but the country, in general, showed signs of good cultivation, and forage was plentiful. Numbers of carts not having been able to arrive, the army was obliged to halt the next day, and in the evening we had a violent storm, or typhoon, attended with thunder and lightning; by which several tents were blown down, and many damaged. At this place we were met by an escort from Agra with treasure.

At two o'clock in the morning on the twenty-third, the army marched to Papli, or Purputeah, a large walled town with a fort on a large sandy plain, twelve miles from Bajarow. The roads were good, and the country well cultivated, but the water very scarce and of bad quality. The third regiment of native cavalry rejoined us here from Rampoora; and on the twenty-fourth, after a march of twelve miles, we reached Khoosialghur, a considerable walled town, with several large stone buildings. After halting here a day, the army marched on the twenty-sixth about the same distance to Pillandiah, another large town, built on the side of a hill, where we found plenty of water; and passing Mhayur on the twenty-seventh, we reached our old encampment-ground at Hindown on the following day. Here the disagreeable intelligence reached us of a party of our troops having been cut up in Bundelcund.

In consequence of the illness and subsequent death of Colonel Powell, the command of the British forces in that province had devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Faucett, who sent a detachment of seven companies of sepoys, with a proportion of guns, to take a small fort, distant about five miles from his position at Kooch. Whilst preparations were carrying on in the trenches, the Killedar sent out an offer to surrender the place the next morning, on the condition that our party would suspend their firing. This proposition was agreed to; but in the interval the treacherous Killedar applied to Meer Khan, who was in the neighbourhood with a large body of horse, seven or eight thousand of which on the morning of the twenty-second of May, 1804, fell, unexpectedly, on two companies of sepoys, and about fifty artillery men in the trenches, the whole of whom, both officers and privates, were cruelly murdered by these marauders, who after this wanton barbarity, carried off all the artillery, consisting of two twelves and one six-pounder, two howitzers, and the tumbrils belonging to the park. Captain Smith, however, the commander of the detachment, succeeded in making good his retreat with the remaining five companies, protected by a troop of the fifth regiment of native cavalry, and a galloper six-pounder, which single gun kept off the enemy, and enabled our men to rejoin the corps under Colonel Faucett.

This temporary advantage, though procured by perfidy only, induced Meer Khan and his predatory horde to make an attack upon Calpee, and to attempt the passage of the Jumna. The design, however, was frustrated by Captain Jones, who repulsed the plunderer at the head of two companies of sepoys, and shortly afterwards they suffered a complete defeat from Colonel Shepherd, commanding a body of troops, lately in the service of Ambajee Inglia.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the army of General Lake reached Selimghur, after marching about fourteen miles, along exceeding bad roads, and suffering indescribable misery from the burning wind, which, after passing over the great sandy desert, imparts to the atmosphere in these regions an intensity of heat scarcely to be conceived even by those who have been seasoned to the fury of a vertical sun. In every direction where this pestiferous current has any influence, the effects are painful to those who have the misfortune of being exposed to it; but westward of the Jumna the fiery blast is still more distressing, from the want of rivers and lakes to temper its severity, the nearest resemblance to which, perhaps, is the extreme glow of an iron foundery in the height of summer: though even that is but a feeble comparison, since no idea can be formed of the causticity of the sandy particles which are borne along with the wind like hot embers, peeling off the skin, and raising blisters wherever they chance to fall.

This oppressive heat may be moderated in dwellings, by fitting tatties or frames of bamboo to the doors and windows, covered either with the khus-khus, a yellow grass root, or with a green prickly shrub, here named chuwassie, both of which are so very fragrant, that while fresh and well watered they have the effect of rendering the interior of the apartments perfectly cool, even when the air without is suffocating. But though this method of guarding against the noxious blasts might be adopted in a fixed camp, no advantage could be taken of it in an army continually on the move, of which, indeed, we had melancholy experience in this march, as in each of the last four days we buried, on an average, from ten to fifteen Europeans. Young men who set out in the morning full of spirits, and in all the

vigour of health, dropped dead immediately on reaching the encampment ground, and many were smitten on the road by the overpowering force of the sun, especially when at the meridian, the rays darting downwards like a torrent of fire, under which many brave and athletic men fell, without the possibility of receiving any relief. They who were thus struck, suddenly turned giddy, foamed at the mouth, and as instantaneously became lifeless. Even when encamped, the sufferings of the soldiers were excruciating: for the tents in general were ill-adapted to afford shelter against the solar heat at this season, when the thermometer in the shade frequently exceeded one hundred and thirty degrees of Fahrenheit. The misery was farther increased by the scarcity of water, owing to the debility and mortality that prevailed among the bheasties, or persons employed in procuring this inestimable article. Numbers of these water-carriers perished through the fatigue which they underwent in this fiery climate, where the natives suffer more than even Europeans themselves, when called to any extraordinary exertion. Such were the afflicting circumstances of our march; and these were farther aggravated by the increasing number of our sick, many of whom were obliged to be conveyed on the common hackeries or country-carts without any covering, and consequently exposed to the sun through the whole day, the vehicles very often not reaching the camp before evening.

We had not been long on our ground this day, when we were made sensible of being again among the Mewattie robbers. A party of armed villagers fell upon our men who were employed in collecting leaves of the trees, that being the only forage procurable at this

season, and killed several of them, close under the hills. Upon this the commander-in-chief ordered out two twelve-pounders, which soon levelled the house of the jemindar to the ground, and set fire to the village where this crime was perpetrated. Nothing short of such summary vengeance in the way of example could possibly act upon minds habituated to plunder and assassination. Many unfortunate persons, who were employed in the Jeypoor province to carry supplies to the camp, were attacked and murdered at the different passes in the hills through which the road leads; and every article was carried away by these wretches.

On the thirtieth of May the army marched through the pass, over a much better road than we had travelled before through this chain of hills, and encamped in a large mango tope, at Bassabwar, about eight miles from our last ground; and on the day following, after a march of eleven miles, we reached Waer, belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, situate on the high road from Jeypoor to Agra. This is a very large town, with a mud rampart all round it, and a puckah or stone citadel within, on which we could discern several large guns mounted. Nineteen Europeans were buried this day: and melancholy indeed it was to see the route of our army traced by heaps of earth giving cover to the remains of so many gallant young soldiers, who, after escaping the dangers incident to the fire and steel of war, fell pitiable victims to the climate.

On the first of June, the army, for the sake of accelerating their return to quarters, and marching less cumbrously, proceeded in two divisions; the infantry under Major-General Fraser, which reached Pursoo, about nine miles distance, while the cavalry, with the com-

mander-in-chief, marched two miles further to Sangara. On the following day, the cavalry had a very fatiguing march over a deep sandy soil of nearly eighteen miles; in the course of which many camp followers died. Water was the eager desire of all, but little or none was to be found. A sepoy, overcome with thirst and fatigue on the road, offered a rupee, which was all he had, for a drink; but the bheasty whom he addressed having but a small drop in his leather bag, which he was hurrying to bring to his master, passed on, when the sepoy, in a state of frenzy, snatched up his musket, and shot himself. The three king's regiments of dragoons alone buried nine men this day, and the infantry many more. Of natives, two hundred and fifty were reported to have died in the bazaar, or market-place, attached to the camp.

At one o'clock in the morning on the third of June, the march was continued by the cavalry; and after passing Futtipoor Sickree, encamped near Karowley, about sixteen miles from our last ground. Through the whole of the morning it blew violently from the east till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind shifted, though without any abatement of fury, to the opposite point, attended by very awful circumstances.

Impetuous whirlwinds, called by the natives pisaish or devils, advanced rapidly over the sandy plains in vast columns of dust, gathering in size, and ascending up into the air with great velocity to a height beyond the reach of the eye. These objects, however, were only the precursors of the still more tremendous demon of the storm—the typhoon, which, like chaos, came on the wings of the tempest, rolling before it immense torrents of burning sand, giving such

a density in the atmosphere, that the sun, which appeared at first as red as blood, was afterwards, by the gradual increase of the opacity, totally eclipsed. Night, with tenfold terror, now darkened the horizon, the awfulness of which was heightened by the howlings of the tempest, resembling the roar of thunder. This scene of horror lasted about half an hour, during which the affrighted multitude lay prostrate on the ground, as if anticipating the dissolution of the world. Providentially, however, the fearful phenomenon was succeeded by a little rain, which cooled the air, and rendered it so very refreshing, that we had not a single man taken off by death, or even seized with illness, during this remarkable day. The damage done by the tempest in our immediate neighbourhood was chiefly confined to the trees and tents, many of the former being torn up by the roots, and the latter were scattered about in every direction. When, however, the weather cleared up, the transition afforded much amusement; and nothing could be more ludicrous than to see the bazaar people searching for their property, which had been carried away by the wind. Men and women, almost in a state of nature, running after their cloaths which they had hung up to dry after washing; others looking for their bullocks, which in the alarm had thrown off their burdens, and ran scampering among the bazaars: while, to increase the confusion, a number of our horses broke loose from the picquets, and galloped about the camp in the greatest disorder.

On the fourth of June we rested in honour of the day, which was celebrated with due remembrance of our native country, and its venerable monarch. The day following we resumed our march, and reached Agra, at the distance of eighteen miles from our last encamp-

ment. Here we passed the Jumna at a ford near the town, while the guns and baggage were conveyed across in boats. On the sixth we halted, and received the agreeable news of the success of two divisions of irregulars under the command of Captain Gardiner, an officer in the service of the Rajah of Jeypoor, and of Lieutenant Lucan of His Majesty's seventy-fourth regiment, who had been detached by General Lake to watch the motions of Holkar after his retreat from Hindoostan on the twenty-third of April.

At nine in the morning on the twenty-ninth of May, Captain Gardiner reached a place called Balloor Kherry, where he learnt that a chieftain, named Tantia, in the interest of Holkar, lay encamped about five miles off with three battalions of infantry, two hundred Mewatties, three thousand horse, and eleven guns. Lieutenant Lucan, who occupied a position in the rear at the distance of two miles, on being made acquainted with this circumstance, hastened to join Captain Gardiner, and both divisions immediately advanced towards the enemy. Tantia, however, in the mean time, having received intelligence of their approach, retreated to a difficult pass six miles distant from Coterah. Here his battalions took post with their rear to the pass, having a rising ground on their right, and their front and flanks completely encompassed by deep ravines, passable only by a road sufficiently broad to admit of a common cart, and which was farther defended by three guns.

As soon as the divisions under Captain Gardiner and Lieutenant Lucan came within reach of the artillery, they were greeted by a brisk fire from Tantia's battalions. The divisions were formed into three bodies; the left commanded by Lieutenant Lucan; the centre

by a native chief, named Fyza Tallub Khan; and the right by Captain Gardner, which last was destined to approach the enemy under cover of the ravines as near as possible, the nature of the ground rendering a charge impracticable. A fourth party, under the Bewarry Choudry, was detached by a circuitous route to take possession of a hill in the rear of the right flank of Tantia's force, and thereby to cut off the means of retreat. These movements, owing to the ravines and nullahs, took up a considerable time, during which, part of the cavalry on the right and left were dismounted, and advanced within pistol-shot of the enemy's line; but from the steepness of the banks it was impossible to derive any material advantage from this measure. It had the effect, however, of producing some intimidation on the part of the enemy, two companies of whose infantry were dislodged from a nullah which they occupied by a few of our cavalry without any opposition.

At five o'clock the guns attached to Lieutenant Lucan's division arrived after a march of thirty-five miles, on which the native chieftain commanding Tantia's battalions demanded a parley, and offered to surrender, on condition that his party should be escorted in safety to the camp of Bappoo Scindiah, for which they were pledged not to serve any more against the British government. These terms were assented to, and punctually performed, the battalions, amounting in the whole, with two hundred Mewatties, to two thousand and ninety-nine men, being conducted, as agreed upon, by our cavalry, and leaving in our possession the whole of their ordnance and stores; but Tantia himself had effected his retreat at the head of the cavalry on the first appearance of our force.

Such were the particulars of this well-conducted affair, the intelligence of which reached us on our arrival at Agra, where we learnt, at the same time, that Lieutenant-Colonel Monson's division was encamped at Kotta, on the banks of the Chumbul, guarding the Jeypoor frontier.

On the seventh of June the cavalry separated, each corps marching to its allotted station, the first native regiment for Mutra, the fourth for Futtyghur, and the second, third, and sixth, for different places in the ceded provinces. The three king's regiments of dragoons and the horse artillery continued their march to Cawnpore, accompanied by the fourth native cavalry, as far as Mainpore, on the road to Futtyghur; the whole being under the command of Colonel Macan. Many accidents occurred while marching through the ravines, between Agra and Etamaundpore; for being obliged to proceed in the night to avoid the heat of the sun, several camp followers were crushed to pieces, and trampled under foot, occasioned by the throng and pressure of the baggage in these narrow roads; and others, in the dark, perished by falling into wells.

Continuing our march by the way of Ferozabad, Shekoabad, Giroul, and Mainpore, we reached Buighong on the twelfth of June, at which place Colonel Macan separated from us, proceeding with the fourth regiment of native cavalry, of which he was colonel, to Futtyghur, where he was appointed to command, carrying with him the well-wishes of every individual of the detachment, but more particularly of the officers of the twenty-ninth dragoons, who had served under him from the commencement of the war. His hospitality and condescending manners, joined to the abilities and courage which he dis-

played in the field on all occasions, made him most sincerely belov by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The command of the detachment now devolved on Lieutenan Colonel Vandeleur, under which distinguished officer we continued o march, without any interruption or particular occurrence, on the sam road over which we had passed the preceding year, and arrived Cawnpore on the twentieth of June, 1804, just after the commencemen of the monsoon or rainy season.

Thus ended our first campaign after a lapse of ten months an twelve days, during which the army marched above one thou sand miles, and achieved many important objects with compara tively little loss, for, with the exception of what we suffered from th effects of the hot winds, our casualties did not exceed two thousan men in killed and wounded.

The number of cannon taken during this first campaign alone, amounted to four hundred and fifty pieces of the finest ordnance, besides one hundred and eighty-two wall pieces, five thousand stand of arms, one hundred and eighty tumbrils and ammunition carriages, and a vast quantity of military stores of every descrip tion.

CHAPTER XIV.

Cawnpore.—Honours conferred by the Emperor on General Lake.—Success of the British Arms in Bundelcund.—Disastrous Retreat of Lieutenant-Colonel Monson's Division, with the Loss of his Artillery and Baggage.—Arrival of the Remainder at Agra, completely disorganized.—Immediate March of all the Corps in Quarters to the General Rendezvous at Agra.

CAWNPORE, the principal British military station in the upper provinces of Hindoostan, is situate in the Dooab, on the western bank of the Ganges, forty-nine miles from Lucknow. The barracks, which are extensive, afforded at this time quarters to a large corps of artillery, four European regiments, of which three were cavalry, and seven thousand native infantry. The bungalows, or residences of the officers, are very elegant, capacious, and convenient, but found at their own expense. These are dispersed along the banks of the river to the extent of about six miles, interspersed with fine gardens, which supply a profusion of fruit, and edible vegetables of every description, both European and Indian.

The surrounding country produces not only Indian corn, sugar-cane, yams, plaintains, and other native plants, but also barley and wheat, turnips, cabbages, carrots, and potatoes.

The climate, one half of the year, is delightful, being situate in the temperate zone, between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh degrees of northern latitude; but during the prevalence of the hot winds, or from March till June, much inconvenience is felt by the immense

clouds of dust, that, in the afternoon, darken the air, and the finer particles of which penetrate into every recess. This troublesome visitant is succeeded by the rainy monsoon, from June till September, when the plains are mostly inundated; after which the weather becomes pleasant; but the mornings and evenings in December and January are so cold, as to render a fire-side not less desirable than in England; and therefore most of the houses belonging to the officers on this station are provided accordingly. Game abounds all round the neighbourhood; the feathered kinds consisting chiefly of quails, snipes, and wild ducks.

Here, also, during the hot windy season particularly, those delicious little birds, the ortolans, come in such immense flights, that fifty or sixty will drop at a single shot. For hunting, this station likewise affords much sport, in hares, foxes, jackalls, and wolves, which last are so daring and ravenous, as sometimes, in the stillness of the night, to enter the bazaars and carry off infants.

Soon after our return hither, the Emperor Shah Aulum despatched Rajah Munnoo Lall, to invest General Lake with the insignia of the Mahee and Mooratib, accompanied by the Nowbut, and other marks of dignity, which it has been customary to confer on the great officers of the empire, such as the vizier and bukshee, or commander-in-chief.

The ceremony, on account of the incessant rains, was postponed till the fourteenth of August; when his Excellency left the cantonments, and proceeded, with Major-General Frazer, and the officers of his suit, to tents pitched for the purpose. Immediately after the investiture with a sword and shield, which are more particularly assigned to military rank, a royal salute was fired, as a mark of the respect with

which the honour conferred by his Majesty had been received. The rest of the forms having been gone through with, his Excellency returned, preceded by the insignia of the several orders of distinction.

The Mahee, representing a fish, with a head of gilt copper, and the body and tail formed of silk, is fixed to a long staff, and carried on an elephant, which is then presented to the person on whom the dignity is bestowed.

The Mooratib consists of a ball of copper gilt, encircled by a jhallah, or fringe, about two feet in length, placed on a long pole; and, like the former, carried on an elephant.

The last mark of imperial favour is attended with the following ceremonial: two small nobuts, or drums of silver, each about the size of a thirty-two pound shot, the apertures of which are covered with parchment, are hung round the neck of the person on whom the honour is conferred, and struck a few times, who is thereby proclaimed a sahibin-nobut, and has drums made upon the proper scale, which are beaten five times in the course of twenty-four hours. The drums of the Nobut, placed also on an elephant, accompany the Mahee and Mooratib on a march.

Early in July intelligence was received from Lieutenant-Colonel Martindale, commanding the Bundelcund division, of his success on the first of that month against the Ram Rajah and the Nagahs. These last formidable banditti occupied a strong position near Mohobah, surrounded by ranges of high rocks lined with matchlock-men and rocket-boys, who kept up a constant fire upon the British troops as they advanced; but the attacks, conducted under the direction of

Colonel Martindale, by Captains O'Halloran and Anderson, with the brigades of Meer Cuttub Ally and Mahomed Jemaun Khan, were executed with such skill and gallantry, that, after Captain Watson, with a part of the first battalion of the eighteenth regiment, had scoured the hills, the enemy were driven from their hold with the loss of nearly the whole of their baggage, camels, horses, and stores of every kind. At the same time, Captain Webber, with two squadrons of the fifth native cavalry, charged a body of the predatory horse with great effect, and took a colour, together with the religious standard of the Nagahs.

Another party, commanded by an officer of Meer Khan, which had assembled on the twenty-fourth of June at the village of Mooduna, and advanced with an intention of attacking Colonel Shepherd at Buckuan, two coss from Kooch, was entirely routed by that officer, who had moved against the banditti with one battalion and the irregular cavalry under his command. In this affair, Meer Khan's officer was killed, with one hundred of his men, and upwards that number wounded, besides many horses killed and taken. But these successes, however gratifying, were counterbalanced by some serious reverses in another quarter, to which we must now direct our painful attention.

Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, after the capture of Hinglaiz Ghur, advanced his position about fifty miles from the Molcundra pass, at which place he had been led to expect supplies, and also of being able to communicate with Colonel Murray, then on his march in considerable force from Guzerat towards Indore. The corps of Colonel Monson consisted of five battalions of sepoys, a proportion of artillery, and two bodies of irregular horse, commanded by Lieutenant

Lucan, and a native chief named Bapojee Scindiah, amounting in the whole to about three thousand men.

On the seventh of July, information was received that Holkar, who, after his retreat, took post in Malwa, on the other side of the Chumbul, had re-crossed that river with the whole of his army; upon which, Colonel Monson, who was desirous of coming to an action with the enemy, made a movement for that purpose, but soon found it expedient to relinquish his design, in consequence of the deficiency of grain in his camp, the absence of a detachment employed to bring up a supply, and of another part of his force that was on its march to join him from Hinglaiz Ghar. The colonel was also in expectation of an escort with treasure for his corps; but what mostly influenced his conduct, was the account that Colonel Murray had an intention to fall back on the Mylie river. Under these circumstances, and considering the numerous cavalry which Holkar had with him, Colonel Monson deemed it prudent to retire to the Mokundra pass. Accordingly, the baggage and stores were sent off at four in the morning, on the eighth of July, to Sonara, while the troops, formed in order of battle, remained on the ground of encampment till half-past nine, when no enemy making their appearance the march continued, with the exception of the irregular cavalry under Lieutenant Lucan and Bapojee Scindiah, who were ordered to follow in half-an-hour, and to apprise Colonel Monson of Holkar's motions.

The detachment had proceeded about twelve miles, when Colonel Monson received intelligence that Lieutenant Lucan had been attacked

by the whole of Holkar's cavalry. Upon this, orders were given for the troops to form, with the view of supporting the party in the rear, when Bapojee Scindiah, who traiterously joined the enemy soon after arrived with the further information of their entire defeat, adding, that Lieutenant Lucan himself, after a gallant resistance, was wounded, and taken prisoner. The accuracy of this afflicting news could not be questioned; and this brave officer, who had rendered so much effectual service in the preceding contest with Dowlut Row Scindiah, as well as in the present, shortly afterwards died of his wounds, or, according to report, of poison, at Kottah. As, therefore, to return would have been useless, and delay was dangerous, Colonel Monson continued his march to Sonara, where his baggage had previously arrived in safety, and which was moved off again the same night, followed at four in the morning by the detachment, for the Mokundra pass, which was reached at noon on the same day without meeting with any molestation.

On the morning of the tenth, a large body of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance, and continued to increase in numbers till noon the next day, when Holkar sent a letter to the English commander requiring the surrender of the guns and small arms; which demand was spiritedly refused. Holkar then divided his force into three bodies, and made a vigorous attack on the front and flanks of our corps; but owing to the judicious manner in which they were posted, and the bravery they displayed, the enemy could make no impression upon them; and therefore, after repeated attacks, in all of which he was unsuccessful, he drew off his troops to the distance of two coss, where he was joined by his infantry and guns.

Colonel Monson, apprehensive lest the enemy, by getting upon his

rear, might cut off his communication with the Mokundra pass and Kottah, which were the only places from whence supplies could be obtained, resolved to retire to the latter place, which he reached on the morning of the twelfth, after two marches, during which the troops suffered greatly, from the unfavourableness of the weather, and the inundated state of the country. Their conduct, however, under such perilous and disheartening circumstances, was highly meritorious; and the day preceding their arrival at Kottah, they distinguished themselves in an eminent degree by repulsing the enemy, who sustained material injury, while the loss on our side was inconsiderable.

As the Rajah of Kottah was unwilling to admit our troops into the town, on the plea that he could not furnish them with provisions; and as the men began to suffer severely for the want of food, Colonel Monson continued his march to the Gaumus Nuddee Ghaut; but owing to the rains, which were now set in with great violence, though the distance was no more than seven miles, the troops did not reach the Gaumus rivulet till the next morning. Here the whole halted during that and the following day, as well because the rivulet was too much swollen to be fordable, as for the purpose of procuring a supply of grain from the neighbouring village of Puttun. On the fifteenth the march was resumed, but the roads were in such a state that another delay took place till the next morning; when the provisions being entirely exhausted, and the guns so deeply sunk in the mud as to baffle all the attempts made to extricate them, the colonel was compelled to leave the latter behind, after rendering them unserviceable, and destroying his ammunition.

This distressing but indispensable service being performed, the

march was continued with great difficulty through a country completely under water; and, on the seventeenth, the troops came to the Chumbalee rivulet, which was not then fordable; but the next day the European artillery men were enabled to cross over on elephants, and proceed to Rampoorah. The rising of the water, however, still detained the main body, who suffered considerably for the want of food, which induced Colonel Monson to send a party, with all the camp followers, in quest of grain at a neighbouring village, where enough only was obtained to last two days. This party, on their return to camp, repulsed an attack made by some of the enemy's horse, with no other loss than that of a few sepoys, who were wounded.

In the evening of the twenty-first, Colonel Monson detached Captain O'Donnel, with the flank companies, to beat up a body of cavalry stationed at a little distance off; in which affair the enemy's camp was destroyed, and several of their camels and horses were taken.

On the twenty-third, the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment crossed the rivulet upon a few rafts, as did the second battalion of the twelfth regiment on the following day; while, at the same time, Lieutenant-Colonel Don was sent with the second battalion of the eighth regiment to a ford, a few miles lower down, in order to expedite the passage of the remaining troops. During the twenty-fourth, a large body of cavalry made their appearance, on which Colonel Monson drew up his force, amounting to about seven hundred men, and maintained a smart contest till sun-set, when the enemy retired, after sustaining considerable loss; that on our side being no more than twenty men killed and wounded.

The next morning, the second battalion of the twenty-first regi-

ment received orders to proceed through the Lackhoree pass, and to take up a position near the entrance towards Rampoorah; while the first battalion of the twelfth regiment was sent to join Lieutenant-Colonel Don. The same day, Colonel Monson crossed the rivulet with the second battalion of the second regiment, and on the morning following, proceeded with that corps, and the second battalion of the twelfth regiment, to Rampoorah, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh of July, in an exhausted state, all the provisions having been consumed previous to the march of the troops from the Chumbalee. One of the first cares of Colonel Monson, after his arrival at Rampoorah, was to send a supply of necessaries to the corps under Colonel Don, who succeeded in joining the main body two days afterwards. Some men belonging to the detachment were drowned in crossing the rivulet; and on the march, the different corps were attacked by the mountaineers, who were, however, effectually repulsed, though not without some loss on our side. Colonel Monson on his arrival at Rampoorah had the satisfaction of meeting two battalions of sepoys, with four six-pounders and two howitzers, a body of Hindoostan cavalry under Major Frith, and a supply of grain, which had been sent from Agra by the commander-in-chief, as soon as he heard in what a distressed situation the detachment was at the Mokundra pass. Notwithstanding this seasonable relief, and what could be procured at Rampoorah, the colonel judged it most prudent to continue his retreat to Khooshalghur, where he expected to be joined by six battalions and twenty-one guns, under the command of Sudashee Bhow Buckshee, in the service of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and where also he was in hopes of obtaining a stock of provisions, that would enable him to keep the field. Previous,

however, to his leaving Rampoorah, he made the necessary arrangements for its security, by leaving a garrison, with adequate supplies in the fort, under Captain Hutchinson, of the Bengal artillery.

The rest of the detachment, consisting of five battalions and six companies of sepoys, with two howitzers, reached the Banas about day-break on the twenty-second of August; but that river had risen so much, in consequence of the rain, as scarcely to be fordable for the largest elephants. In these circumstances, advantage was taken of three boats, which were found here, to send the treasure across the river, under the care of Captain Nicholls, and six companies of the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment, with orders to proceed to Khooshalghur.

Early the next morning, large bodies of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance, and pitched their camp in front of the detachment, at the distance of about four miles. The river becoming fordable on the twenty-fourth, the baggage was transported across, with one battalion, by eight o'clock in the morning; and at the same time the enemy took possession of a large village on the right of Colonel Monson, who, however, attacked the post, and carried it, with very little loss. The fall of the river having now rendered it passable in many places, the enemy's cavalry began to cross in great numbers to the right and left of the British position; in consequence of which, when the principal part of the baggage had been conveyed over, Colonel Monson sent across three more battalions and a howitzer for its protection, intending to follow with the remaining corps, as soon as all the stores and camp followers should have effected their passage. At four in the afternoon, the enemy's infantry arrived with their guns, and began to cannonade the

second battalion of the second regiment, and the picquets posted on the south side of the river; on which, Colonel Monson immediately charged them with this small body, and succeeded in carrying some of the guns. The enemy, however, rallied, and advanced again in such numbers, as to compel our little force to retire, leaving behind them the remaining howitzer.

Our troops suffered severely in this affair, and effected their retreat with difficulty, under cover of the first battalion of the fourteenth regiment, which advanced to the bank of the river for that purpose.

In consequence of this disaster, and the advantage taken of it, Colonel Monson was under the necessity of abandoning his baggage, in order to facilitate his retreat to Khooshalghur, which place he reached on the night of the twenty-fifth of August, after defeating several attacks made upon him by the enemy's cavalry. Here he found Captain Nicholl, who had arrived in that neighbourhood on the twenty-fourth, his picquets being attacked the same night by parties of horse; notwithstanding which, they maintained their post till the morning, when the whole of the detachment, strengthened by a company from the twelfth regiment of native infantry, stationed there, entered the fort, where he learnt that it was the intention of the troops, under Sudashee Bhow, to levy a contribution upon the town. This intimation, which shewed the dependence to be placed upon a Mahratta ally, the fort of Khooshalghur being the property of the Rajah of Jeypoor, was accompanied by the threat of cannonading the town if the demand was not complied with in two hours. Captain Nicholl, though his force was small, and there were many gates and openings into the fort, signified his intention of protecting the place to the

utmost; on which, the Mahratta commander sent him a letter, requiring the surrender of the elephants, treasure, and baggage belonging to the British detachment. To this demand no reply was made; and at nine in the morning of the same day the enemy opened their guns on the town, which they followed up in the afternoon by an attack with their infantry, but without success, and the loss of several of their men. In this affair, Captain Nicholl had only two sepoys killed.

On the morning of the twenty-sixth, the whole of the enemy's cavalry encamped in separate bodies around the detachment of Colonel Monson; to increase whose embarrassment, a correspondence was detected, carried on between some of the native officers belonging to his corps and Holkar. The most energetic measures were adopted to check the meditated mischief; but, notwithstanding every effort, near two companies from the first battalion of the fourteenth, and a large proportion of the Hindoostanee cavalry, deserted. At seven the same evening the Colonel moved from Kooshalghur, and formed his troops into an oblong square, having previously spiked the remaining howitzer. During that night and the greatest part of the following day, the enemy's horse, supported by some guns, attempted to penetrate, but without being able to make any impression upon this compact body of men. During the night of the twenty-seventh, Colonel Monson took possession of the ruined fort of Hindown, and at one the next morning continued his retreat towards Agra. On clearing the ravines near Hindown, the enemy's cavalry made a desperate charge in three divisions, but were received with the most determined coolness by the sepoys, who, by reserving their fire till they came within reach of the bayonet, compelled them to retreat in every direction.

About sun-set on the twenty-eighth, the detachment reached the Biana pass, where it was the intention of Colonel Monson to have halted during the night, on account of the suffering state of the troops; but the enemy bringing up some guns, and opening a heavy fire, the retreat was continued to the town of Biana, where the whole arrived by nine o'clock. Owing, however, to the extreme darkness of the night, the camp followers, with such of the baggage as remained, became intermixed with the line in such a manner, as to throw the troops into a state of confusion, from which it was impossible to recover them. In this state of disorder, the different corps made the best of their way to Agra, where they arrived on the thirty-first of August, followed as far as Futtypoor Sikree by straggling parties of the enemy, for the sake of plunder, but who did not after the affair of the twenty-eighth venture to make a united attack.

The casualties sustained by this unfortunate detachment were as follows:

Second Battalion 2nd Regiment.

Major James Sinclair... killed on the 24th of August.
Lieut. Thomas Parr .... ditto.
Lieut. N. G. Fulton.... ditto.
Lieut. William Owen ... missing, but reported to have been killed.
Lieut. W. W. Walker... killed on the 24th of August.
Lieut. B. P. Stacy..... ditto.
Lieut. Thomas Sneider.. ditto.

Second Battalion 8th Regiment.

Lieut. Williams ..... killed on the 24th of August.

Second Battalion 9th Regiment.

Capt. James Crokatt.... killed on the 24th of August.
Lieut. A. R. Maillard... ditto.

First Battalion 12th Regiment.

Lieut. Henry Lloyd.... killed on the 10th of July.
Lieut. Ford ..... wounded on the 27th of August.
Lieut. R. M. Ross .... ditto on the 26th of August.
Lieut. T. Bowring .... ditto on the 27th of August.
Lieut. Dalton ..... drowned in crossing the Chumbelee 15th of July

Second Battalion 12th Regiment.

Lieut. Randall ..... wounded on the 25th of August.
Lieut. R. Davidson .... missing on the 8th of July.

First Battalion 14th Regiment.

Lieut. H. H. Harris .... killed on the 30th of August.
Mr. Brough, Surgeon.... ditto.

Second Battalion 21st Regiment.

Lieut. W. J. Nixon.... killed on the 24th of August.
Lieut. Arden ..... wounded on the 27th of August.

Artillery.

Capt. Winbolt ..... drowned in crossing the Banaas 24th of August.

The turn of affairs, produced by this disastrous retreat, rendered it necessary that the commander-in-chief, with his army, should take the field without delay, in order to repress the growing power of an active enemy, flushed with success, and strengthened by the Jauts, our former allies, but who now threatened to seize our newly acquired possessions in Hindoostan. Accordingly, the several corps of the army received orders to repair immediately to the general rendezvous at Agra; for which place the troops stationed at Cawnpore, consisting of the eighth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth regiments of dragoons, the flank companies of His Majesty's twenty-second regiment, and the seventy-sixth regiment, with the horse artillery, com-

menced their march on the third of September. Though the country continued in a state of inundation, and the rains still poured down in torrents, we reached the left bank of the Jumna on the twenty-second, and immediately began to cross the river in boats; the different corps proceeding, as they landed, to Colonel Macan's camp, between Agra and Secundra, where the army was formed, and finally brigaded on the twenty-seventh of the same month.

CHAPTER XV.

Holkar takes Possession of Mutra.—March of the grand Army from Secundra.—First Rencounter with the Enemy.—Loss of a small Convoy.—The Cavalry beat up the Enemy's Camp.—Holkar besieges Delhi.—British advance from Mutra.—Enemy's Ambuscade frustrated.—The Siege of Delhi raised.—Arrival there of the British Army.—Account of the gallant Defence of that Capital.—Holkar, with the Design of a predatory War, crosses the Jumna at Panniput.

It is a true observation, that the sterling qualities of a general shine most splendidly in reverses. To repair disasters not his own, to convert them ultimately into advantages, and the springs of fresh victories, are the distinguishing features of a great mind. The unshaken firmness of the commander-in-chief inspired every individual with new vigour; and the straggling sepoys of Colonel Monson's unfortunate division hailed his excellency's arrival with transport. They had lost nothing of their discipline and gallantry; and though a partial disaffection existed, which caused the desertion of some companies, it did not appear to have been very extensive. Numbers came in daily, shockingly mutilated, in consequence of their refusal to enter the service of Holkar, whose cruelty was such, that he commanded the noses and right hands of those prisoners to be cut off, in order to intimidate others, which of course had a great effect upon many, and yet, even they who thus complied, sent word to their officers, that they would avail themselves of the first opportunity to accomplish their escape.

The rapid advance of this barbarian to the banks of the Jumna, and his possession of Mutra, spread consternation over the country. The British force stationed at the latter place, left it on the fifteenth of September, consisting of four battalions of sepoys, two regiments of native cavalry, with guns, &c. and marched to Agra, leaving behind them much grain and baggage, which, together with the town of Mutra, were taken possession of by Holkar's horse, parties of whom pushed into the British territory in the Dooab, but were soon driven out again by a small force under Captain Worseley, who moving from Agra on the twenty-sixth of September, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation across the Jumna.

On the first of October, 1804, the army marched from Secundra, and encamped at Chingna, about nine miles on the road to Mutra, but without seeing any of the enemy. The following day, after marching about four miles, considerable bodies of horse made their appearance, and their numbers encreased as we advanced. The British cavalry then moved towards them, supported by the reserve, while the remaining column of infantry and artillery continued their march. The enemy, however, shewed no intention of making a vigorous stand; and were every where dispersed, after receiving a few shots from the galloper guns of our cavalry. After that, we very quietly pitched our tents at Jundapore, in contempt of Holkar's horse, who still kept hovering about in prodigious numbers.

During our march on the third, the enemy, who hung upon our left flank and rear, succeeded in carrying off some baggage. We encamped this day about a mile from the town of Mutra, which place the reserve, under Colonel Don, occupied.

We halted on the fourth, when all the in-lying picquets were ordered to Aurungabad, where a party of convalescent sepoys, in charge of one hundred camels, with grain for the army, coming from Agra, were surrounded by a large number of Mahratta horse. Our succours arrived too late: the cattle and grain had all been taken; and the sepoys, with the Dhoolie bearers, who were sent for the use of our hospital, and had taken refuge in a mud fort, were all carried off to Holkar's camp, previous to the arrival of our troops.

Before day-break on the seventh, the troops moved to attack Holkar's camp, which was at the village of Aurung, four miles in front of us. We were formed into three columns; the seventy-sixth, and three battalions of native infantry, forming the left, under Major-General Fraser, with the horse artillery on their right; the reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Don, in the centre; and the cavalry, under Colonel Macan, at an increased distance on the right, moving parallel with the infantry columns. The picquets were left standing; and the rest of the forces, with the park, remained for the protection of the camp, under Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford.

We reached the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp a few minutes after daylight, but not before they had taken alarm at our approach, and were already mounted. The horse artillery commenced a brisk cannonade on the enemy's right, whilst the cavalry moved forward against the left of their position, and with the gallopers did some execution among them; but the rapidity of their flight rendered it impossible to effect a charge. We returned, therefore, to our camp soon after eight o'clock, and the enemy to their's in the course of the day.

At an early hour on the tenth, another attempt was made to bring

the enemy to an engagement, for which purpose the infantry moved in the same direction as before, whilst the cavalry made a greater circuit to the right, to cut off their retreat: but they were so much on their guard since the last affair, that they had posts out in all directions, who, by firing matchlocks, and burning lights, gave the signal of alarm. Our cavalry, formed in two lines, moved in columns of half regiments at regular intervals. In this order, we swept clear the whole plain where the enemy were encamped, at a full gallop; but we could not succeed in our endeavour to charge them, for they scampered off in all directions, dispersing as usual. When we halted, they did the same, rallied, and stood gazing at us; and when we turned our backs, to return home, they dashed on, attacking our rear and flanks, firing long shots with their matchlocks, while those who were armed with spears and tolwars, flourished their weapons, making, at the same time, a noise like jackalls, by way of bravado. On this occasion about thirty of the enemy were killed, and several made prisoners, who, naturally enough, expected to meet with the most severe treatment, in the way of retaliation, for the perfidious cruelties committed by their master, of whom they gave this curious account, that he was the first to run away. Instead, however, of that vengeance which these men looked for at our hands, they received a rupee each by the order of our general, who then dismissed them with a message to their chief, telling him that none but cowards treated their prisoners with cruelty.

The army marched on the twelfth from Mutra; the cavalry leading, followed by the infantry; thus imposing an impervious line of swords and bayonets to the inroads of the enemy, upon our baggage and bazaars, which moved along our inner flank and the river Jumna.

This judicious arrangement was our constant order of proceeding, and thereby effectually prevented any further depredations. Very few of the enemy accompanied us on our march this day, when we encamped about one o'clock, at the distance of eleven miles from Mutra, on the road to Delhi, which capital it appeared was besieged by Holkar's regular brigades of infantry, with a large train of artillery. The siege was pressed with all possible exertion, it being the object of Holkar to possess himself of the person of the Emperor Shah Aulum before we could come to his rescue.

In our march on the thirteenth, nothing was to be seen of the enemy till about noon, when, on reaching a jungle, through which we had to pass, they suddenly appeared in considerable numbers. They had lain concealed amidst the high corn in the surrounding fields, ready to attack our rear, when the main body of the column should be in the midst of the jungle; flattering themselves, in that case, with carrying off a great deal of baggage. But in this they were completely foiled, and a few rounds of grape from the gallopers had such good effect as to make them desist, after losing a number of men and horses. We came to our ground about two o'clock, after a march of twelve miles.

Our march on the fourteenth was about the same distance, and perfectly unmolested, the enemy appearing little inclined to renew their attacks since the unfavourable reception they had experienced the day before. About ten o'clock on the fifteenth, we passed the town of Khoosee, the inhabitants of which refusing to open the gate to Major Salkeld, the deputy quarter-master-general, he was obliged to break it open. Holkar's colours were flying on the inside; and it was said that he passed the preceding night there, having had a

grand nautch, when the head of an European soldier of the seventy-sixth, who had been straggling behind, was brought to him; for which he rewarded the bearer with twelve rupees; and placing the head upon a spear, made the nautch girls dance round it.

On the sixteenth, we marched in the same manner, passing by the town and fort of Pulwall, the inhabitants of which threatened to fire on the British officers who had approached it, if they did not instantly retire. It was also reported that ten of Holkar's guns had been put into this fort, with a view of attracting our notice, and retarding our advance upon Delhi, that their brigades and guns might effect a safe retreat, after their unsuccessful attempt upon the city on the fourteenth instant. But the commander-in-chief was not to be diverted from his main object, and therefore we marched straight on, encamping about nine miles beyond Pulwall.

We had now entered the Delhi province, Pulwall being, according to Abul Fazel, the northern boundary of that of Agra; after which, that of Delhi commences. It is distant from the latter city thirty-six miles, south.

On the seventeenth we marched as usual, passing by Balamghur, the killedar of which place came out to pay his respects to the commander-in-chief. The next day we marched along a very bad road to Delhi. As we passed through the ravines, the enemy made an attack on our rear, charging a company of sepoys with the whole of their horse, who were, however, beaten off, after killing ten or twelve of our men, and wounding as many more. We encamped in two lines between the city and the Jumna, the infantry forming the front line, and the cavalry the second, having the river close in the rear.

Early in the morning of the nineteenth, the whole army was in readiness to set out in pursuit of Holkar's brigades and guns; half of the camp equipage, as well public as private, having been sent into Delhi the evening before, the better to facilitate our march. Before, however, we got clear of the ground, orders were given for halting, and we encamped again in the same order and situation. This sudden change was occasioned by the serious difficulties which presented themselves; and, among others, the inadequate supply of provision, with the want of cattle for its conveyance. In addition to this, there was great improbability of our being able to come up with Holkar's brigades, his guns being drawn by the best bullocks in the country, assisted by elephants: besides which, they were four days march a-head of us; and their route lay through the Rewary pass, a mountainous tract, where every defile is a post of strength.

Here it may be proper to give some account of the gallant defence of Delhi, which redounds so greatly to the honour of Colonel Ochterlony, who was at that time the British resident at the imperial court, and to Colonel Burn, who commanded the garrison.

On the first approach of the enemy towards Khosial Ghur, and the possibility that the capital was his object, Colonel Ochterlony, with his wonted penetration and prudence, called Colonel Burn and his troops from Sehrampore, the battalion late Dowlut Row's, under Captain Harriott, from Rotuck, and another of Najeebs, under Lieutenant Birch, from Panniput.

To this force were added about two hundred Najeebs, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, three hundred under a native named Khujah Hussein, two hundred under Mogul Beg, and somewhat above two

hundred belonging to the police and custom establishment; making in all about twelve hundred matchlock-men, besides the regular corps already enumerated, and four companies of the seventeenth regiment.

It is unnecessary here to dwell on the shattered state of the walls of Delhi, the fallen ramparts, or the useless narrow bastions, but proceed to state that Colonel Ochterlony selected those of the latter which he considered most commanding, and the best able to bear guns, directing them to be widened and strengthened for the reception of artillery. A parapet also was ordered to be made where it had fallen down, and the rampart to be built up. Time, however, admitted of only the partial execution of these orders, but two redoubts were constructed at the Agimeer and Turkoman gates, which were afterwards found to be of essential service. In this arrangement, the colonel was assisted by the advice of Captain Skirving, and Lieutenant Goodall; to the latter of whom he was indebted in carrying on all the defensive works.

When Holkar's horse made their appearance on the morning of the seventh, the troops prepared to retire within the walls, while a detachment of irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Hunter of the second battalion of the fourth regiment, accompanied by Captain Carnegie, and Lieutenant Rose, moved out to reconnoitre the force and position of the enemy. But notwithstanding their trifling force at that early period, and the advantages which might have been derived from an immediate attack, all the exertions made by Lieutenant Hunter, and the other officers, to lead on the men, proved ineffectual, and they retreated towards the city. Three hundred Mewatties also, who had been stationed in the old fort, refused to retire with Captain Manuel, and

afterwards deserted. Finding, therefore, that little was to be expected from the irregular cavalry in this quarter, they were immediately directed to cross the Jumna, to insure supplies to our own troops, and prevent any from being sent to the enemy. This order they also either refused to obey, or were so dilatory in the execution of it, that the enemy's cavalry, taking advantage of their pusillanimity, advanced; on which, a general dispersion took place.

The next morning, the enemy's infantry and artillery appeared in sight, and while the main body encamped at some distance, a strong detachment, with many guns, advanced under cover of the Tanaria fields, and commenced a heavy cannonade against the south-east angle of the city wall, to resist which, some more guns were sent thither, which soon compelled the enemy to withdraw. Thirty or forty feet of the parapet had been levelled during the cannonade, perhaps as much from the concussion of our own firing, as from the shot of the assailants. But during the night, the enemy erected batteries at breaching distance, which totally destroyed the parapet, and even made partial openings in the wall; while on the other hand, great exertions were made within for the repair of the breaches and the defence of that side of the town; and as it was probable the first attempt would take place there, it was resolved to check the progress of the foe by a sortie. This was in contemplation on the evening of the ninth, when Lieutenant Hunter having volunteered his services, his company was drawn out of the fort by single men, so that instead of appearing like the diminution of force in that quarter, it had the imposing effect of an increase of strength. The projected sally did not, however, take place until the evening of the tenth, when a

party of two hundred men from the second battalion of the fourteenth regiment, accompanied by Lieutenants Evans, Heathcote, and Locket, and one hundred and fifty men from Captain Harriott's corps, under Captain Carnegie and Lieutenant Woodville, with a reserve of fifty men and a six-pounder, under Lieutenant Dickson, moved out, under the command of Lieutenant Rose. They succeeded in getting possession of the battery, spiked the guns, and retreated with very little loss, though that of the enemy must have been considerable, as in their flight, being obviously mistaken for our troops, they were fired upon from every quarter. In the course of the day, previous to this attack, a battery for one eighteen-pounder, one twelve pounder, and two six-pounders, had been erected towards the south-east bastion, under the direction of Captain Keating, who, by his active exertions on this occasion, and covering the sallying party, kept the enemy in check. Next morning guns again opened upon the walls from the battery which had been stormed; but by a well-directed fire from our new battery, both these, as well as some more distant ones, were soon totally silenced; and in the course of the day and following night, the whole body drew off, to carry on their operations towards the southern face of the city. Little danger was now apprehended of any attempt during the night, as information was received that, to prevent a second surprise, the enemy remained always under arms till day-break: but still the utmost vigilance was observed on our part. Their heaviest guns, and large bodies of infantry, being posted opposite to the whole southern face, under cover of extensive gardens and ruins, a breach was soon made in the curtain between the Turkoman and Agimere gates; but this was rendered useless to them, as by the evening of the twelfth all communication from

thence to the town was effectually prevented, though it was still kept up along the rampart. During the whole of the thirteenth, an unusual silence prevailed, which seeming to indicate preparations for a serious attack, the officers and men were required to be on their guard; and supporting parties directed to be in readiness.

At day-break on the fourteenth, the enemy's guns opened in every direction; and under cover of this cannonade, a large body of infantry, preceded by ladders, made an assault upon the Lahore gate, but were driven back in confusion, with considerable loss, leaving the ladders behind them. To draw our attention from the real object of attack, many of their guns were pointed against the Agimere gate: and Lieutenant Simpson, of the second battalion of the seventeenth regiment, who commanded at that post, was mortally wounded by a cannon shot. During the day, the enemy continued pretty quiet, but in the evening they began to make a show of drawing some guns towards the Cashmere gate; in consequence of which, pieces were sent to the bastions on that face; and a six-pounder was placed on the top of the Agimere gate, and another on the Lahore, to resist any attempt that might be made there. However, before the morning of the fifteenth, their whole force had moved off, and at day-break their rear guard of cavalry was seen at a distance; on which a party was detached, to cut off any guns or baggage that might be in the rear, but without success.

On examining the posts which the enemy had occupied, three mines were discovered, laid for the bastions between the Turkoman and Agimere gates; one of which was actually carried under the very spot where it was intended to explode, and ready to be loaded.

Nothing could exceed the fatigue suffered both by the officers and

men, but the cheerfulness and patience with which it was endured; and this defence of a city ten miles in circumference for nine days, against a well-prepared and desperate enemy, could not fail to command universal admiration, especially when the decayed nature of its works was taken into consideration, added to the fact, that the place, in its most prosperous days, had always been given up on the first appearance of an enemy, before its gates.

Soon after the commencement of the siege, Colonel Ochterlony, finding that the number of men would not admit of their being frequently relieved, ordered daily provisions and sweetmeats (of which last the natives are uncommonly fond) to be served out at the expense of our government. This measure had the best effect, in raising the spirits of the men, who throughout displayed the most determined courage, and bore a very severe duty with so much resolution, as to induce the resident to promise them half a month's extra-pay the moment the enemy should be repulsed. The prudence of this excellent officer was also happily employed in preserving the city from disorder during the siege, and in extinguishing the sparks of disaffection which had begun to make an alarming appearance among the inhabitants, and the troops of the imperial household. These salutary and decisive measures called forth the warmest acknowledgments of the commander-in-chief, who likewise bestowed the due meed of praise upon every officer engaged in this arduous service, particularly Colonel Burn, who had provided in his orders, that in the event of a retreat from the town becoming necessary, the troops should move into the palace, which was to be considered as the place of rendezvous or rallying point, according as circumstances might require.

Through the whole of the twenty-fifth of October, the army was kept on the alert by continual reports of attacks being made on our foraging parties; in consequence of which, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the general moved, with all the cavalry and reserve, round to the west side of the city, for the support of a body that was said to have been cut off; but the story was without foundation, and no enemy was to be seen. We had also repeated night alarms during our stay, occasioned by the numerous thieves that infest the hills and ruins about Delhi, making their way into our bazaars, and thereby drawing on a sharp fire from the rearguards, which sometimes went on from one end of the line to the other.

Holkar, having been foiled in his attempt upon the capital of the empire, now determined to perplex and harass us in the true Mahratta style of predatory warfare. In pursuance of this plan, having moved secretly but rapidly to the northward, he crossed the Jumna near Panniput, threatening to waste the British territories in the Dooab with fire and sword.

CHAPTER XVI.

Holkar invades the British Territories in the Dooab.—Pursued by the British Cavalry under General Lake.—Colonel Burn's Detachment surrounded at Shamlee, but relieved.—Pursuit continued.—Sherdhanah, and the Begum Sombroo.—Merat.—Devastations of the Enemy.—The British Cavalry surprise Holkar's Camp at Furruckabad.—Happy Consequences.

No sooner did the intelligence of Holkar's invasion of the Dooab reach General Lake, than he determined on an immediate pursuit. Having, therefore, appointed Major-General Fraser to the command of the infantry of the line, artillery, and two regiments of native cavalry, to observe the motions of the enemy's infantry and guns, his excellency proceeded in person with the remainder of the cavalry, consisting of His Majesty's eighth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth regiments of light dragoons, the horse artillery, the first, fourth, and sixth regiments of native cavalry, with the reserve brigade of infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Don.

On the thirty-first of October, the commander-in-chief, with the cavalry, crossed the Jumna at a ford about three miles from Delhi, and joined the reserve, which had passed the river the day before, and were encamped at Noona, about ten miles from our last ground. Orders were issued to march as light as possible; on which account no private wheel carriages were allowed. The officers and soldiers doubling up in their tents considerably lessened our baggage; and to reduce still farther the number of public cattle, an issue of six pounds of flour was gratuitously made to every fighting man and public

servant, which was to last them six days, and be carried by themselves. This mode of carriage was often repeated, being found very beneficial to the service, without incurring additional expense; for the price of the flour was easily cleared from the savings in the reduced number of cattle required to carry the grain. In our own provinces particularly, where we can always command supplies, this practice is the most adviseable, as hereby all parties are gainers, and the movement of troops are considerably expedited.

On the first of November, our small army marched to Bagbut, fifteen miles from our last ground; where we learnt that the enemy's horse, commanded by Holkar in person, having passed the Jumna in the vicinity of Panniput, had come across the line of march of part of the brave defenders of Delhi. Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, with his battalion and a few Nujeebs, with six guns, had marched from the capital a few days before us, to proceed to his station at Sahranpoor, where the civil magistrate, Mr. Guthrie, was shut up and surrounded by the Seiks. The enemy's horse fell in with this detachment near Candlah, and completely surrounded them; notwithstanding which, Colonel Burn, clearing the road with grape shot, made good his way to Shamlee, where, getting into a small mud fort, he prepared for a desperate defence.

On being apprized of the precarious situation of this detachment, the army hastened thirty miles, on the second of November, to Candlah, marching from half-past five in the morning till five in the evening. We encamped in the midst of Badjera fields, (the holcus spicata of Linnæus) which here grows to a height overtopping the tallest horseman, and afforded excellent food for our horses, who could

amply satisfy their hunger with what they found growing at their picquets. We also passed through much wood-land during the day, but the ground was well cultivated, and the vegetation most luxuriant all the way to Candlah, which is a town of some extent, surrounded by large topes of mango trees.

On the third of November, about eleven in the forenoon, after a march of eleven miles, we reached Shamlee, to the great joy of Colonel Burn and his detachment; but the enemy, by whom they were surrounded, disappeared instantly on seeing the clouds of dust from our column, and retreated in the direction of Jellalabad. So closely had the party been hemmmed in, and distressed, that many sepoys of the Hindoo cast, being prohibited by their tenets from partaking with their Mahomedan comrades, who, during the time they were shut up here, subsisted on their draught-bullocks, had not tasted food for many days; and the inhabitants of the town not only refused to supply them, but actually fired upon a party sent by Colonel Burn into the town to purchase provisions. By this outrageous act many were killed; and, in fact, the principal loss sustained during the time of the blockade, was occasioned by the inhabitants, with whom the enemy's dismounted men had mixed, firing matchlocks from the town wall upon our troops in the fort, and killing near a hundred sepoys. This behaviour, therefore, drew a just punishment upon the place, which was first plundered by those who found shelter in it, and ransacked afterwards by those who had been so illtreated; an example which was not without its good effects on the people of other towns through the Dooab. There is a very good bazaar here and the streets, which intersect each other at right angles, exhi-

bited many handsome houses. The circumference of the town is two miles; and the fort occupied by Colonel Burn is about one hundred yards square, with a bastion at each angle, and a dry ditch all round. It is distant from Delhi sixty-four miles, north-east, and included in the district of Sahranpoor; which place was also happily relieved about this time by a battalion sent thither by the Begum Somroo, to the rescue of Mr. Guthrie, who soon afterwards joined head-quarters.

On the fourth of November, the army halted, when the commander-in-chief passed, in general orders, very high encomiums on Colonel Burn, and the officers and men of his detachment, for the fortitude, patience, and perseverance, displayed by them in defending the fort of Shamlee, amidst the want of provisions for several days, and maintaining, under excessive hardships and fatigues, that undaunted resolution which had before distinguished the brave defenders of Delhi.

The army marched on the fifth of November fourteen miles by the right, in an easterly direction to Mahomedabad, the inhabitants of which town, on being informed of what had happened at Shamlee, wisely refused admittance to the enemy, and fired on them.

The next day we marched about twenty-four miles, on the road to Sherdhana, or Saldanah, the residence of the Begum Somroo, whither it was suspected Holkar had moved, in the hope of inducing the Begum to join him with her forces. This lady, so celebrated in the modern history of Hindoostan, is the widow of a native of Treves, whose real name was Walter Reinhardt; but, owing to his dark complexion, the French, in whose service he entered, called him Sombre, which the natives of India afterwards converted to Sombroo, or Somroo. Having succeeded on the demise of her husband to the command of the troops

raised by him, and confirmed in the jaghire allotted for their maintenance, by Nujuff Khan, she displayed such a masculine firmness of mind, as attracted universal admiration, particularly during the revolutionary storms that clouded the latter part of the reign of Shah Aulum, whom she defended with great zeal on several occasions; for which spirit of loyalty that unfortunate monarch bestowed upon her the title of Zeeb al Nissa, or ornament of the sex. Amidst the convulsions which agitated the empire, she managed her affairs so well as to preserve her territories, and to improve them in a very remarkable manner. Though descended from an ancient family of the Moguls, and consequently bred in the Mussulmaun faith, she openly embraced Christianity, and encouraged it on her estates, greatly to the advantage of her subjects. When I saw her at Delhi, in 1806, she appeared to be about fifty-three years of age, of middling size, and fair complexion. She was then a constant attendant at head-quarters, dressed in the European style, with a hat and veil, sometimes riding out in a palanquin, and at others on a horse or an elephant.

The principality of Sherdhana, which acknowledges her authority, is a small, but fertile district, extending about thirty-six miles from north to south, and twenty-four from east to west, and yields about ten lacs of rupees in annual revenue: the country, which is highly cultivated, produces grain of all kinds, cotton, tobacco, sugar canes, &c. The town of Sherdhana is pleasantly situated, and of considerable extent. Near the town is a fort, containing a good arsenal, with a foundery for cannon. The military force consisted at this period of five battalions of well-disciplined sepoys, with about forty pieces of artillery, commanded by European officers.

Of late years the Begum has resided principally at Delhi, where she built a splendid house, passing the remainder of her days in peace, under the protection of the British government.

On the seventh of November we proceeded by the right; but before we had got clear of the camp, which was on the right bank of the river Hindan, near the village of Bernownah, the army suddenly countermarched, moving on by the left; and about noon we got sight of a body of the enemy's horse in our front, who took instantly to flight, on perceiving our flying artillery advancing to engage them. This day we took up our encampment near Catowly, fifteen miles from our last ground, while the enemy moved off towards Merat, whither we followed them the next day. Adjoining the town of Merat, which is enclosed by a brick wall and ditch, is a mud fort, with a number of bastions: but the enemy finding the gates shut, and a considerable number of matchlocks ready for their reception, thought fit to pass by without making any attempt to plunder, and proceeded on to Happer.

Merat was one of the early conquests of Mahmoud of Ghizni, who took it in 1018; and Timur destroyed it in 1399; but it was rebuilt afterwards, though Nadir Shah, Gholaum Caudir, and Scindiah, successively devastated it. The climate is very salubrious, and the country both rich and highly cultivated; which advantages, together with its position, in the centre of the upper parts of the Dooab, have pointed it out as an eligible military station since the extension of the British northern frontier; accordingly, in 1809, cantonments were erected here; and this place became the head-quarters of a major-general, commanding the advanced division of the army. Here is the tomb of the late gallant General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie, whose remains were brought hither from Calunga.

Having left at Merat, for the protection of the northern parts of the Dooab, Colonel Burn, with the second battalion of the fourteenth regiment, the first battalion of the twenty-first regiment, Captain Atkins's battalion, and Captain Murray's Bareitch horse, General Lake prosecuted his march on the ninth to Happer, distant twenty miles from Merat. The enemy made a prize here of forty camels, which happened to be grazing at the time of their arrival. Here is a small fort, with several guns and a company of sepoys, who fired a salute in honour of the commander-in-chief.

The pursuit continued on the tenth in the usual manner, the enemy keeping always twenty-five or thirty miles a-head of us, ravaging and burning the defenceless villages as they went along: but their success in plundering was far from gratifying their rapacious appetite, owing to the fears excited by our approximation, which, therefore, prevented any attempts upon towns surrounded with walls, or capable of the least defence.

We encamped at Mallarghur, having marched about the same distance as the day before; and on the eleventh reached Shecarpoor, after crossing the Calini river.

On the twelfth our route passed close under the walls of the fort of Komona, in possession of a refractory Zemindar; and the subsequent reduction of which place cost the lives of several British officers and soldiers. The two last days' marches exhibited a number of petty forts, dispersed all over the country, forming so many nests for thieves and robbers—evils which grew out of the weak and imbecile government of Oude, previous to the cession of these districts to the Company. This day we encamped at Pillowna, about twenty miles from our last ground; and it was gratifying to learn that the villagers here

had defended themselves effectually against Holkar's plunderers, several of whom were killed.

On the thirteenth we reached Coriahgunge, about twenty-four miles distant; but the place was entirely deserted, the inhabitants having moved with their property into the adjoining ghurry, or fort.

The next day we encamped near Khassgunge, a small military cantonment, but which had been burnt by a refractory zemindar about two months preceding our arrival. The road here passes over a handsome brick bridge of five arches, near the scite of the cantonment, and leading through a highly cultivated country.

On the fifteenth, after another long day's march, we encamped near Sheerpore, and the day following reached Allygunge, which village was still burning on our arrival; and the marauders, incensed at our rapid pursuit, which prevented them from getting much booty, avenged themselves by destroying what they could not carry away. The hour of retribution, however, was drawing on, though Holkar was at Furruckabad, thirty-six miles a-head of us. The distance, indeed, was great, but the more this seemed to add to his security, the more likely were we to catch him by a forced night's march.

Accordingly, at nine o'clock in the evening, General Lake, with the British cavalry, moved on again, without tent or baggage of any kind, leaving the whole behind to come on with the reserve next day. Just as we were mounting our horses, the agreeable news of the victory gained over Holkar's brigades at the battle of Deeg reached us; which intelligence made us doubly eager to come up with the chief in person, and his much boasted horse, in order to give the finishing

stroke to his power. The moon was up, and the night mild and pleasant, so that every one was cheered in the hope of terminating, with this night's progress, our late harassing marches. This confidence was increased by the reports Major Salkeld, the deputy quarter-master-general, who had the charge of the intelligence department, and which he conducted most admirably, received concerning the state of the enemy at intervals as we marched along.

The day was just appearing on the seventeenth, when the head of our column reached the skirts of the enemy's camp. Their horses were at picquet, and by the side of them the men lay sleeping, wrapt up in their comlies or blankets. Several rounds of grape, fired into the thickest of their camp from the horse artillery, was the first intimation they received of our arrival. It awakened some, but sealed many in an everlasting sleep. His Majesty's eighth light dragoons got first in amongst them, charging and cutting them down in all directions, the other regiments doing the same as fast as they could gallop up; so that in a short time the whole plain was covered with dead bodies.

Holkar was the first in flying. It was said that he had a nautch, or dance, the evening before, but that in the midst of the amusement the intelligence arriving of his misfortune at Deeg, he immediately retired, without mentioning any thing of the circumstance to his chiefs. In the morning, when we were approaching his camp, one of our artillery tumbrils unfortunately exploded; on the report of which, Holkar, who, owing to the bad news probably, had not slept all night, felt alarmed; but being told that it was the customary morning gun of the Futtyghur station, he thought no more of it. Presently after,

the firing commenced, on which his chiefs all said that it was General Lake and his army; but Holkar even then could not bring himself seriously to believe it; for as his spies, in whom he placed great confidence, had reported to him the great distance our army lay encamped the day before, he considered it utterly impossible that we should have come up with him. However, he was soon convinced; and mounting his horse, galloped off full speed with what troops he had immediately about him, never stopping till he had re-crossed the Calini river, eighteen miles distant, taking the road to Mainpore. The rest of his troops, thus left to shift for themselves the best way they could, were either cut up or dispersed in all directions. Many of the enemy, unable to escape on their horses, which were still more jaded than ours, by the recent forced marches, dismounted, and climbed up into the trees, chiefly of the mangoe kind, with which this country is covered, and in whose thick foliage they concealed themselves, while our cavalry passed underneath without noticing them; but having the temerity from this retreat to open a fire of matchlocks upon our rear divisions, they were discovered and pistoled, so that numbers tumbled lifeless from the trees.

The pursuit continued upwards of ten miles; and as our march during the preceding day and night was fifty-eight miles, the distance to which the enemy were pursued, and the space passed over before we took up our encampment-ground, considerably exceeded seventy miles in twenty-four hours; an effort, probably, unparalleled in the annals of military history, especially when it is considered that it was made after a long and harassing march of three hundred and fifty miles in the space of a fortnight. The commander-in-chief fully appreciated the conduct

of the troops; and in his general orders on this occasion, bestowed just praise on the patience, perseverance, and discipline which they displayed under such uncommon fatigue; as well as the activity and resolution with which they at last attacked the enemy. He also expressed his satisfaction at the good conduct of the infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Don; for, though not present in this affair, the zeal and patience with which they had supported the fatigues of so arduous a march, deserved his warmest thanks.

Our loss was trifling, being only two dragoons killed and about twenty men; Europeans and natives, wounded, with about seventy-five horses in the whole. That of the enemy may be fairly stated at three thousand killed on the field. Thus, what with subsequent desertions, and the numerous dispersed parties which never afterwards rejoined their chief, the cavalry force of Holkar was at one stroke reduced to less than half its original strength, which, on his arrival at Furruckabad, had been rated at more than sixty thousand men.

Many people of this place, who had joined the enemy, were put to death during the fray; and it is probable that the number of Holkar's partisans among these unruly Patans was not small, from their naturally rebellious disposition. Previous to the cession of this district to the Company in 1802, the country was infested with robbers; and murders were exceedingly frequent; but since the introduction of English laws and civil establishments, the peaceable inhabitants have enjoyed every blessing of a well-regulated government, perfect security of property, and impartial administration of justice, so that its name Furruckabad, which signifies "happy abode," may

now be more deservedly applied. The town, which was built by a Patan colony about a century ago, is situate at a short distance from the west side of the Ganges, and carries on a considerable trade. The streets are wide, and the houses and open places are shaded with trees. Its present flourishing state enticed Holkar hither, who expected a rich prize, which he would no doubt have extorted in the nature of a contribution, if we had given him time for that purpose. Indeed, our arrival was most opportune; for had we been a few hours later, we should probably have found nothing but smoaking ruins, and the European inhabitants murdered. The latter took shelter in Futtyghur, by which name the British military station at Furruckabad is properly designated. The outer cantonment, consisting of the cavalry stables and officers' bungaloes, had already become a prey to the flames before our arrival; and the fort, in which were the European fugitives, mostly merchants and civilians, though they had hitherto defended themselves bravely, would probably have been assaulted early in the morning of the seventeenth, if our army had not fortunately appeared to save their lives, and the place from plunder.

It is a singular coincidence that this day we should have had three royal salutes to fire for as many signal victories over the same enemy: one in honour of that obtained by Major-General Fraser, at the battle of Deeg; another for the taking of Chandore, by Colonel Wallace, which was indeed the only one of the strong holds of the Holkar family in the Deccan, and the last for our own action.

CHAPTER XVII.

Battle of Deeg.—Holkar's Retreat to Deeg.—Pursued thither by General Lake.—Mainpore.—Hatrass.—Mariaun.—Death of Major-General Fraser.—Happy Rejunction of the Cavalry with the British Infantry at Mutra.—Change in the Character of the War.

A FEW days after General Lake had left Delhi with the cavalry, in pursuit of Holkar's horse, the British infantry, and artillery under Major-General Fraser, marched from thence, in search of his brigades and guns, which it was known were within the Bhurtpoor rajah's territories. On the twelfth of November, General Fraser arrived at Govordown, *(x, plate 6 page 408)*, and pitched within a short distance of the enemy, *(x)*, who were first discovered from the surrounding heights, encamped between a large deep tank and an extensive morass; their right covered by a fortified village, and their left extending to the fort of Deeg. Every preparation was made for the attack the next morning. Major-General Fraser's force consisted of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, the Company's European regiments, and six battalions of sepoys; two of which were left for the protection of the baggage, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, with the irregular horse. The remaining four battalions, with the two European regiments, marched to the attack at three o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth. The column had to detour considerably to avoid the morass; and moving round the village *(z)* where the enemy had a picquet, it arrived about

day-break at the fortified village on the hill, which covered the enemy's right; when the troops immediately wheeled into line; (*o*) the seventy-sixth regiment and two battalions forming the first, and the remaining troops the second line. His Majesty's seventy-sixth, with charged bayonets, took possession of the village, and running down the hill, (*p*) charged the first range of guns, (*q*) under a tremendous shower of round, grape, and chain shot: the enemy abandoning their guns as our men came up to them, and retiring to fresh batteries. When the second line arrived at the village, the Company's European regiment seeing the seventy-sixth so far a-head in the thickest of the enemy, ran to their support, followed by the sepoys; whilst Major Hammond, with the first battalion of the second regiment, (*o*) and the second battalion of the fifteenth regiment of native infantry, (*r*) under cover of a bank or hillock, watched the enemy's brigades and guns to the eastward of the lower end of the morass, and kept them in check.

Having carried the first range of guns, our troops were opposed to a most destructive fire from the enemy's second range. Here a cannon shot took off Major-General Fraser's leg, when the command devolved upon the Honourable Colonel Monson, who most ably executed all that a skilful and brave commander had planned. The charged bayonets of our brave troops (*s s*) soon drove the enemy from their second range, and continued charging one battery after another (*t t*) for two miles, till coming close under the walls of the town, they were fired upon from the fort, and had several men killed.

In the mean time, a body of the enemy's horse came round, retook

the first range of guns, and turned them against our troops; but Captain Norford of the seventy-sixth regiment, with only twenty-eight men, gallantly charged them, and a second time drove them off; in the performance of which exploit he was unfortunately killed. Our troops having pursued the flying foe as far as they could, now returned to attack the body which had been kept in check by Major Hammond, who with the two battalions and three six-pounders, already mentioned, steadily and gallantly maintained his position in the face of the superior artillery of the enemy, which kept up a most destructive fire from eighteen and twelve-pounders. Colonel Monson having ordered up some more six-pounders, moved round under cover of their fire upon the enemy's left flank, who now made a precipitate retreat into the morass, (t) where numbers perished, amongst whom were two of the principal leaders of Holkar's infantry. At the same time, Colonel Ball, with the third brigades which had been left in care of the baggage, now arrived, to secure the captured guns, and assist in the removal of the wounded, protected by the second and third regiments of native cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, who, during the action, had been employed (o) in watching and keeping off the enemy's horse. (r) The British then encamped (x) on the field of battle, with a cavalry picquet (o) as one of their outposts on a rising ground, half way between them and the fort of Deeg, to watch the enemy's garrison.

According to the most accurate accounts, the enemy's force consisted of twenty-four battalions, a considerable body of horse, and one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, the greater part of which fell immediately into our possession. Our loss was severe, but on their

side it was very great, and it was supposed that near two thousand were killed and drowned, in endeavouring to effect their escape.

The undaunted bravery of His Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment was never more conspicuous than on this day; and the conduct of the first European regiment, in the Company's service, under Lieutenant-Colonel Burnet, was every way worthy of the name of British troops. Their example had the happiest effect, and was zealously emulated by all the native corps. The commander-in-chief expressed his warmest acknowledgments of the meritorious behaviour of all who were engaged in this severe action, which, as he said, entitled them to the thanks and admiration of their country, and added considerably to the reputation of our army in India. In the despatch of Colonel Monson to his Excellency, he particularly noticed, as deserving of praise, Colonel Horsford, commanding the artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel G. S. Browne, commanding the second brigade of infantry; Brigade-Major Menzies, Captains Fraser and Macknight, the officers of Major-General Fraser's staff, Brigade-Major Carr, and Ensign Bowyer, of the twelfth regiment of native infantry, which last acted as aid-de-camp to Colonel Monson.

Much as we had reason to rejoice and triumph at the brilliant success of our arms, the spirit of exultation was damped by the loss which the service and the country sustained in Major-General Fraser, who died of his wound a few days after, and to whose skilful dispositions, and heroic valour in leading on the troops, the glory which our army acquired in this victory was chiefly to be attributed.

The numbers of our killed and wounded amounted to six hundred and forty-three, among whom were the following officers:

Killed.

Capt. Henry Norford..... H. M. 76th Reg.
Lieut. John Forbes ..... 1st batt. 2nd Reg. Native Infantry.
Lieut. C. C. Faithful..... 1st ditto 4th ditto.
Lieut. Burgess ..... 1st ditto 4th ditto.
Assist. Surgeon J. Lyons .... 2nd ditto 15th ditto.

Wounded.

Major-General Fraser, severely.
Capt. J. Chitholm ..... H. M. 88th Reg. doing duty with the 76th.
Lieut. Mansell ..... H. M. 78th Reg. doing duty with recovered Europeans..
Ensign Barapton ..... H. M. 76th Reg.
Capt. Lieut. Nicholl..... 1st batt. 4th Native Infantry.
Lieut. A. Maxton, severely,
Lieut. J. Chatfield, ditto
Lieut. T. Bryant, ditto
Lieut. T. Merryman, slightly } Hon. Company's European Reg.
Lieut. James Murray..... 1st batt. 2nd Reg. Native Infantry.
Lieut. Hunter..... 1st ditto 4th ditto.
Lieut. James Turner ..... 1st ditto 15th ditto.
Lieut. H. Sibley ..... 1st ditto 15th ditto.
Lieut. C. S. Schnel ..... 1st ditto 15th ditto.
Lieut. Penny ..... 1st ditto 15th ditto.
Lieut. Hales ..... 2nd ditto 15th ditto.
Lieut. Boyd ..... 2nd ditto 15th ditto.

The following is the report of the captured ordnance:

53 brass guns of various calibre, from 16 pounders downwards.
32 iron guns of various calibre, from 18 pounders downwards.
2 brass howitzers.

Total 87 pieces.

The whole of the above were mounted on field-carriages, with limbers; having also elevating screws, and every requisite apparatus.

Among the iron guns were six eighteen-pounders, formerly presented to the Mahrattas by Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam.

It was a pleasing circumstance for Colonel Monson to be enabled in his report to state the recapture on this day of eleven six-pounders, two twelve-pounders, and one howitzer; also nine tumbrils, and four ammunition carts, formerly lost by his detachment. In addition to these there were twenty-four more tumbrils taken, all laden with ammunition, besides which several were blown up in the action; and others, sloughed in the marshes, were afterwards burnt.

The remains of Holkar's army having taken shelter in the fort of Deeg, to which place that chief himself directed his course after his defeat at Furruckabad, General Lake lost no time in following him across the Jumna. Accordingly, on the twentieth of November, the cavalry and flying artillery marched from thence to Delhi, leaving the reserve at the former place to follow in a few days, after giving escort to some treasure.

On the twenty-first we continued our route through Bewar; and the next day reached Mainpore, a walled town of considerable size, and very populous, situated on the banks of the Issa, in a fertile and most delightful country. It was to this place that Holkar, and the people who fled with him, directed their course on the seventeenth, when, out of revenge, they immediately began to burn the houses of the English residents, the principal of which was that erected by the judge and collector, at an expense, it has been said, of sixty thousand rupees. The dwelling of Captain White, with the gaol and contonments, however, escaped the flames, being defended by three companies of the provincial militia, called sebundies, and one gun, which kept the

enemy off till the arrival of the horse under Captain Skinner, who had closely pursued the fugitives from Furruckabad, and immediately, on whose appearance, they abandoned the place, making the best of their way over the Jumna.

Continuing our march across the Issa by Babrepoore, Eta, and Poora, without any further signs of devastation, on the twenty-sixth we came to Assan, a large town, where Holkar had been encamped some days before; and still proceeding, we took up our ground at Mindoo, near Hatrass.

The next morning we resumed our course, passing under the walls of Hatrass, not without exciting the fears of the Rajah Dyaram, whose conduct, after Holkar's arrival on the banks of the Jumna, was sufficient to make him dread a severe visitation from his English allies. This chief, who is of the Jaut nation, and related to the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, has subsequently experienced that punishment which his treachery long before deserved; and the reduction of his fortress in February, 1817, did equal honour to the determined valour of the troops employed in the service, and the promptitude of the Marquis of Hastings, under whose direction this measure, so necessary for the security of British India, was completed. At the period of our present narrative, the rajah had expended immense sums in fortifying the town, and entertaining troops in his service, who were exercised after the European manner. We heard his drums and fifes as we marched along, and numbers of his soldiers, both horse and foot, were encamped on the glacis. The fort is built on a small hill, with a gradual ascent, and in the centre of it stands a very high brick building, considerably overtopping the surrounding bastions. The glacis is about one hundred yards wide; and a remy wall, with a

deep, dry, and broad ditch behind it, surrounds the fort; on the east side of which, within three hundred yards, is a small village, in a jungle, where a cavalry picquet was stationed by the rájáh to guard against a surprise from us; as he was conscious enough of having merited chastisement for his treachery in aiding our enemies. On the western side lies the town, which occupies a large extent of ground, and is walled all round. The greater part had been lately repaired, and loop-holes for matchlocks were made on the northern face. The curtain, which is very long, has at the west end a gateway, protected by a bastion, perforated in the same manner with loop-holes. This appears to be the strongest part of the town, the ditch being very deep and perpendicular; notwithstanding which, the approaches to the fort are all in favour of the besieger. The place is very populous, and the chief mart for the cotton produced in the Agra province; which article of commerce is conveyed from hence by an easy land-carriage of one hundred miles, to Furruckabad, on the Ganges; and from that city, by water, to Mirzapore, in the province of Benares. The country round is extremely well cultivated; and all along the high-roads there are shops occupied by people of different trades, and mechanics of every description.

About noon we passed within sight of Marsoun, another strong fort, distant about eight miles from Hatrass, and the residence of Bugwansing, who fled hither in 1802, after the loss of Sasnee, which he had so obstinately defended. Being leagued with Dyaram, he has shared the same fate; and the late capture of Hatrass was soon followed by that of Marsoun. Thus, the clearing the Dooab, by

purging the country of some of its most turbulent chiefs, is likely to be followed by peace and quietness for a number of years.

We encamped this day at Joar, a large village about ten miles north-west from Hatrass; and here we learnt the melancholy tidings of Major-General Fraser's death, in consequence of the wound, which he received early in the battle of Deeg, having become gangrenous. He was an able and brave soldier, and a worthy member of society; so that the whole army sincerely mourned his loss.

On the twenty-eighth we crossed the Jumna, on the bridge of boats established at Mutra, and rejoined the infantry encamped about three miles from the town. The guns captured from the enemy on the thirteenth instant had been sent off to Agra the day before our arrival, under an escort, with orders to bring back a battering train from that place, for the purpose of laying siege to Deeg; in consequence of this, the army halted here the two next days. Thus, after a month's separation, during which the cavalry marched upwards of five hundred miles, the two branches of the army reunited under the happiest auspices, and with mutual congratulation. The battles of Deeg and Furruckabad proved decisive of the fate of Holkar's power, and totally changed the character of the war. From a principal he was reduced, in a manner, to a state of dependency on the rajah of Bhurtpoor; while the latter, on the contrary, from an auxiliary, had now become a principal, through the faithlessness and treachery of his conduct.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Origin and Character of the Jauts.—Treachery of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor.—Forbearance of the British Government.—Hostile Proceedings of the Rajah at the Battle of Deeg.—March of General Lake.—Skirmish with the Enemy's Force commanded by Holkar.—Siege and Capture of Deeg.—Description of that Fortress.

The Rajah of Bhurtpoor is one of the principal chieftains of the Jauts, Jats, or Jates, an Hindoo tribe, who migrated from the banks of the Indus, in the lower parts of the Moultan province, and formed in a short space an independent and powerful state in the mountainous districts of Agra and Delhi, possessing themselves of a tract of country one hundred and sixty miles in length, and about fifty in breadth, along both sides of the Jumna, from the neighbourhood of Gwalior to the vicinity of the imperial city. It is probable that these were the people named Getes, of whom we read in the wars of Timur, as having been encountered by him in his march from Batnir to Semanah: but though this may fix the period when they removed and settled in their present situation, they do not appear ever to have attracted any other notice, than as bands of robbers, till their daring outrages upon the caravans rendered it necessary to overawe them by the presence of the imperial troops. These measures, however, were far from repressing their violence, or abridging their power. In conjunction with the Mewatties, they continued the same predatory course; and having thereby amassed considerable wealth, and consolidated their strength, they

erected fortresses; and not long after the death of Aurungzebe, ventured, under the command of Chural Mun, one of their first chiefs, to attack the imperial forces, who were frequently discomfited by them, and compelled to retreat. Thus increasing in strength and audacity, they acquired something like the form of a national character, and fixed their capital at Agra, under Soorajee Mull, who, in 1756, assumed the sovereign title of rajah: but, on the death of that chief, the Jauts declined considerably, and were stripped of a great part of the territories which they had usurped, by the celebrated Vizier Nujuff Khan, during whose life-time the family of Soorajee Mull was reduced to a state of comparative insignificance. The character of the people, however, remained still the same; and in the civil feuds of the empire, they never failed to take advantage of the weakened condition of the government, sometimes espousing one side, and as frequently shifting about to the opposite party, according as it suited their interest, or gratified their inordinate thirst for plunder.

* The dominion of the present Rajah Runjeet Sing, the grandson of Soorajee Mull, is still considerable, yielding between twelve and fifteen lacs of rupees per annum; and defended by several strong forts, in the vicinity of Agra and Mutra, on the right bank of the Jumna. This territory, in the independent possession of which the rajah was guaranteed by the treaty of alliance concluded between him and General Lake, after the battle of Delhi, was afterwards increased by a gratuitous cession to him, on the part of the Company, of lands, nearly equal in value to one-third of the ancient possessions of the rajah, for the purpose of confirming him in his attachment to the British government. He was, besides, by this connexion, permanently relieved

from the payment of his accustomed tribute to the Mahrattas, and from the apprehension of exactions and encroachments on the part of any foreign state. Notwithstanding all these obligations, a correspondence was detected, about the period of Colonel Monson's retreat, between the rajah and Holkar, the object of which was the entire subversion of the British power in that quarter of India, by the union of the resources of the state of Bhurtpoor with those of the enemy; and by engaging in their cause all the neighbouring chiefs over whom they had any influence, or exercised any authority. In aggravation of this conspiracy, it appeared from the dates of these letters, that the treacherous correspondence commenced very soon after the conclusion of the treaty between the rajah and the English Company, and when of course the former was bound by every tie of prudence and gratitude to maintain his engagements inviolate. Yet, such was the forbearance and magnanimity of our government towards this prince, that on the arrival of General Lake at Agra, in September, his Excellency treated him as a friend, though at this time he was known to have aided our enemies, and had even endeavoured to stir up other chiefs to rebellion within the Company's provinces. At length the conduct of the rajah rendered it impossible to continue any longer with him those terms of amity, which he was only employing to our injury. At the battle of Deeg he acted with a treachery scarcely to be paralleled, even in the history of Indian alliances, proverbial as they are on account of the want of faith, for his cavalry fought with the troops of Holkar; and when the troops of the latter fled to his fortress, the garrison, which at that time was composed entirely of the forces of the rajah, opened a fire of musketry and cannon on the pursuers, thereby not only

preventing the termination of the campaign, but occasioned a more severe loss on our side, in officers and men, than would otherwise have been the case; while the enemy were sheltered, and enabled to carry off many pieces of artillery.

From this time, Holkar and the rajah were open confederates; their interests were completely identified; and the former depended wholly upon his friend for supplies of money and military stores. Under these circumstances, the commencement of hostilities against this faithless chief became indispensable on our part, not only as the most effectual means of extinguishing the remnant of Holkar's power, but in the way of example to other states. General Lake, therefore, having received instructions to that effect from the supreme government, resolved on the immediate attack of the forts within the Bhurtpoor territory, which constituted the principal dependence of the rajah. Accordingly, his Excellency moved with the army on the first of December towards Deeg, which was now garrisoned by the troops of Holkar, in conjunction with those of the rajah, and further strengthened by the artillery that had escaped capture after the late battle.

The next day we marched to Khierahsamy, and encamped within sight of the fortress of Deeg. Here we remained nine days, during which time the commander-in-chief moved out repeatedly to reconnoitre the country. On one of these occasions, the enemy's horse, commanded by Holkar in person, hovered round us in large bodies; and at our return, a division of them had the assurance to advance upon the rear of our column, actually charging through the intervals of the second and sixth native cavalry; but on the gallopers going out to salute them, they made off with the utmost celerity. Our

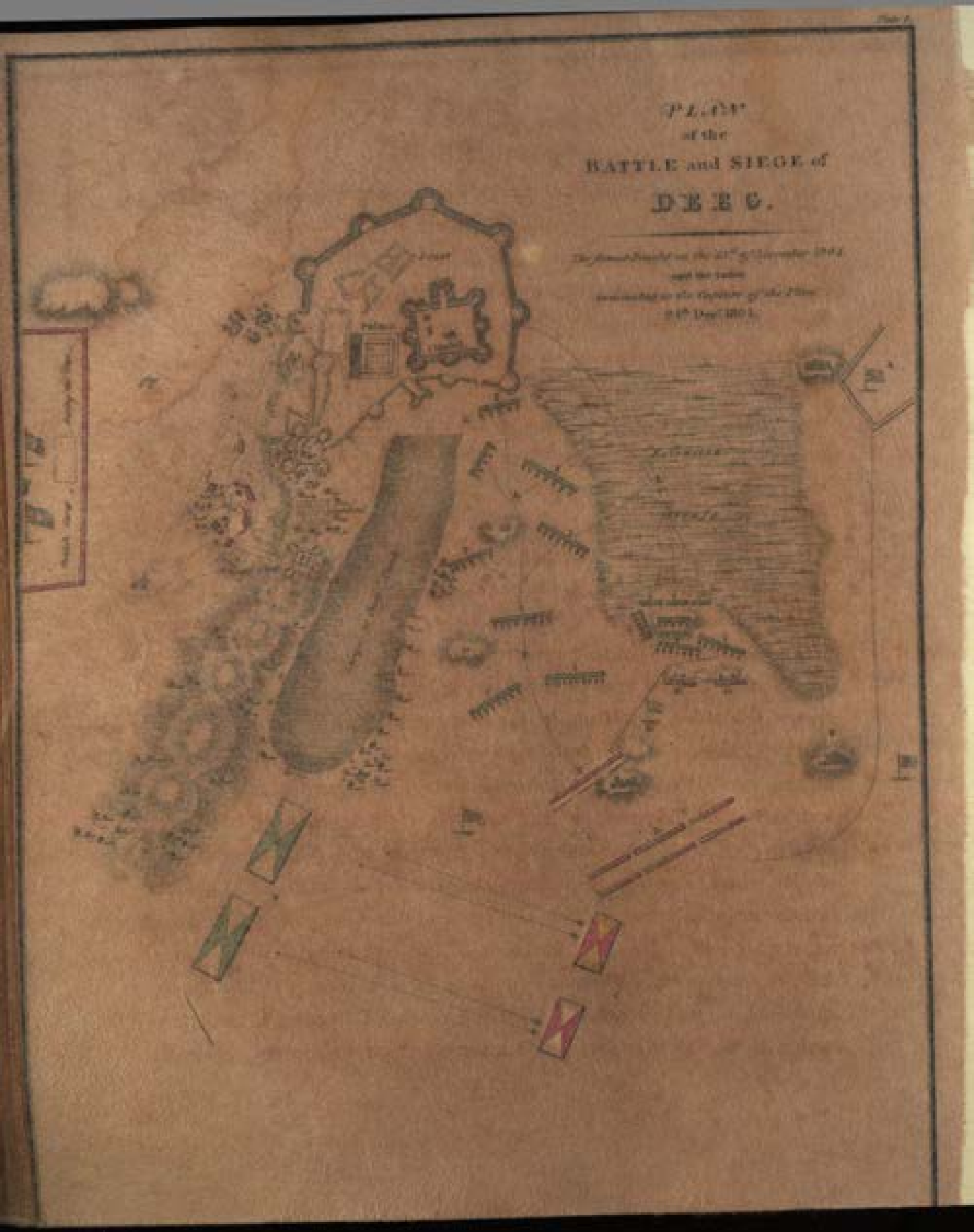
loss consisted of ten native troopers wounded, and one killed; while that of the enemy was sixty killed, and many horses.

Having been joined by the reserve under Colonel Don, with the battering train, &c. from Agra, the army marched on the eleventh of December in two columns, parallel to each other, covered a-head by the reserve forming the advanced guard, while the intermediate space, a distance of about six hundred yards between the two columns, was occupied by the artillery, baggage, and provision train; the whole being closed by the union of all the picquets, strengthened by a regiment of cavalry, thus forming a powerful rear guard. This compact mode of marching and encamping, in the form of an oblong square, protected on all sides, rendered every attempt of the enemy's horse to break in upon us, either on the line of march or in camp, ineffectual, and thus ensured perfect safety to the followers, who are very numerous with an Indian army. Of these non-combatants, there were not less than sixty thousand; and our cattle might at a very moderate rate be estimated at two hundred elephants, two thousand camels, and one hundred thousand bullocks for carrying grain, equipage, and baggage, both public and private.

We encamped this day near the fortified village where the attack of the memorable thirteenth of November commenced, having our left on the lake which runs along the foot of the hill adjoining Gopaulghur; and after proceeding the next day in the same order of march round the hill, and passing through a thick jungle of about a mile in length, the army on the thirteenth took up a final position before the fortress of Deeg. The plain chosen for our encampment being occupied by the enemy, we had to dislodge them from it; but

this was easily done; after which, the preparations for the siege commenced. At eleven o'clock the same night, the reserve under Colonel Don took possession of a large tope, or grove, selected as a proper spot for carrying on our approaches, which service was effected without firing a shot. Every precaution, however, had been taken to afford support in case of need, for which purpose the cavalry were kept in readiness all night, to mount at a moment's warning. Possessed of this grove, the pioneers, under Captain Swinton and Lieutenant Forrest, immediately broke ground with such despatch, that a trench of three hundred yards long, a mortar battery, *(c, plate 6)* at a little village within the grove, and one for two six-pounders, under the direction of the engineer, Captain Robinson, were completed before sun-rise; and towards the evening of the same day, the breaching battery *(a)* was commenced by volunteer parties from the king's dragoon regiments, within seven hundred and fifty yards of the shahbourj, or king's redoubt, *(e)* a high outwork which terminates that angle of the town intended to be breached. On the right of our battery was Gopaulghur, an old mud fort, in possession of the enemy, and crowded with matchlock-men, who, by their constant firing, annoyed the working parties very much, and did us considerable damage: notwithstanding which, the breaching battery was completed on the night of the sixteenth, and the next morning commenced its fire from six eighteen-pounders, four twelves, and four mortars. But although this cannonade continued briskly for several days, it proved very ineffectual; and therefore, another battery, *(b)* consisting of three eighteen-pounders, was erected during the night of the twentieth, to the left of our army, and nearer to the enemy's works, on which it

PLAN
of the
BATTLE and SIEGE of
DEEG.



kept up a smart enfilading fire. The besieged likewise brought a number of guns on the plain outside the fort, (3,3) and placed them so judiciously, under cover of natural embankments, that the same could not be touched by our batteries, while the latter were for the most part enfiladed by their's; to divert which, we had several twelve and six-pounders on the plain, (2,4) playing on them from different points. At length, a practicable breach having been made, and the enemy's guns being mostly silenced, the storming party moved down to the trenches about half-past eleven o'clock, on the night of the twenty-third of December.

The force destined for this service was divided into three columns; the right, under Captain Kelly, consisting of four battalion companies of the Honourable Company's European regiment, and five companies of the first battalion of the twelfth regiment of native infantry, was ordered to carry the enemy's batteries and trenches (5,3) on the high ground near the Shah Bourj, whilst the left column, under Major Radcliffe, consisting of the four remaining battalion companies of the Company's European regiment, and five of the first battalion of the twelfth regiment of native infantry, was destined to carry the trenches and batteries on the enemy's right. (3,3,3) The centre column, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Macrae, who had the command of the whole, consisting of the flank companies of His Majesty's twenty-second, seventy-sixth, and those of the Company's European regiments, and of the first battalion of the eighth regiment of native infantry, composed the storming party for the breach. The whole moved off so as to reach the different points of attack a little before twelve at night, when each column performed its allotted part with

equal gallantry and success. The storming party, though exposed on their flanks to a most galling fire of cannon and musketry from the batteries and trenches; and though obliged to pass over broken and extremely unfavourable ground, rushed on to the breach, and gained possession of the works with resistless spirit; while the two remaining columns, diverging outwards, attacked the enemy under the walls, carrying all their batteries at the point of the bayonet, in the face of a most destructive fire from all directions. The enemy's goollendars stood firmly to their guns, and defended themselves to the last; making use of their talwars with such desperate resolution, when they could no longer fire, that most of them were bayonetted. Several parties of the enemy rallied; and, favoured by the darkness of the night, tried to recover their guns; but the moon rising at half-past twelve, shed a very seasonable light on the scene, and enabled our gallant fellows to secure what they had so hardly gained. Thus, by two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth of December, the British were in possession of the Shah Bourj and outworks, with all the guns placed outside, which were twenty-eight in number. The enemy's loss in killed was numerous; for their extensive entrenchments were occupied by a large force, consisting of several of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor's battalions, and the remaining infantry of Jeswunt Row Holkar. Our troops being now in possession of the town, and the advanced posts having pushed on to the very gates of the inner fort, preparations were made for assaulting this last citadel; while the enemy, under an evident apprehension of its fall, were seen going off in straggling parties during the course of the day, to take refuge in Bhurtpoor. In the afternoon, the second brigade of

cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, moved out to reconnoitre, and fell in with Holkar's horse, a few miles from camp; but not discovering any baggage going from Deeg, as had been reported, we returned back to our lines. During the night of the twenty-fourth, the enemy also evacuated the citadel, owing to the panic into which the garrison had been thrown, on witnessing the determined valour of our troops, displayed the preceding day.

Thus, on Christmas morning of 1804, the British were in complete possession of the town and fortress of Deeg, and of all the guns both within and on the outside, comprising the principal part of the remaining artillery of Holkar; besides a large quantity of grain, and two lacs of rupees in specie of the public property.

The commander-in-chief, in bestowing the meed of praise upon the several corps engaged in this conquest, observed, that the national advantages resulting from their zeal and heroism would ever be matter of exultation to all who wished well to their country. From general expressions of admiration, his Excellency proceeded to notice the merits of individuals. Besides the leaders of columns, Lieutenant-Colonel Macrae, Major Radcliffe, and Captain Kelly, whose conduct entitled them to honourable distinction, marked attention was paid to the second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Ball of the first battalion of the eighth regiment of native infantry; to Captain Raban of the artillery; Captain Lindsay of His Majesty's twenty-second foot; to Colonel Horsford; the officers of the engineer department, Captain Robertson and Lieutenant Smith; all of whom distinguished themselves in such a manner as to possess peculiar claims to public thanks and approbation. The corps of pioneers under

Captain Swinton also received similar praise for the cheerfulness with which they performed their laborious duties; and particularly for the alacrity displayed by them in the night of the twenty-third. Here his Excellency feelingly expressed his regret at the wounded state of Captain Swinton, whose conduct was above all eulogium; and of Lieutenant Forrest of the same corps, who also deserved the greatest praise. The latter officer had above twenty wounds, and was left for dead on the field, but recovering almost miraculously, he was afterwards restored, with the loss of an arm, to his friends and the public service.

The exemplary spirit of the three corps of His Majesty's regiments of cavalry received likewise the same honourable distinction, and the thanks of the commander-in-chief for their alacrity in volunteering as working parties for the trenches and batteries, by which the operations were greatly facilitated.

Our loss in this achievement consisted of forty-three killed and one hundred and eighty-four wounded, among whom were the following officers:

Killed.

Capt. Young .....8th Regiment Native Infantry.
Lieut. Boyer .....12th do.

Wounded.

Lieut. Smith .....Artillery.
Capt. Lindsay .....
Capt. Mc'Night .....
Lieut. Sweetenham .....
Lieut. Creswell ..... } H. M. 22nd Regiment.
Capt. Scott .....H. M. 76th Regiment.
Lieut. Merriman .....Hon. Company's European Regiment.

Lieut-Col. Ball	1st bat. 8th Regiment Native Infantry.
Lieut-Col. Bassett	
Lieut. Abernethy	
Lieut. Anderson	
Capt. Swinton	Corps of Pioneers.
Lieut. Forrest	

The number of guns taken in the town, citadel, and entrenchments under the walls, amounted to one hundred, of which sixteen were brass; the others were of iron, of different calibre, from seventy and sixty-pounders, to twenty-eight and downwards. There were also taken in the lines on the outside thirteen tumbrils laden with ammunition, five ammunition carts, and in the magazines quantities of shot, powder, and military stores.

Deeg is a town of considerable size, W. N. W. from Agra about forty-four miles; and, owing to its being nearly surrounded by marshes and lakes, it is almost inaccessible to an enemy most part of the year. It was formerly a place of great opulence, and, on account of its natural strength, was made the residence of Sorrajee Mull, the Rajah of the Jauts. Nujuff Khan, the vizier of the emperor, took it in 1776 after a siege of twelve months; but subsequently it came again under the dominion of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. The town is defended by a strong mud wall, with bastions, and a deep ditch all round, except at that angle which terminates in a high rocky mount, called the Shah Bourj, the place where we first effected a breach. This eminence, which is almost a fortress of itself, has a small area of about fifty yards square on the inside, for the use of the garrison, and presenting four commanding bastions, facing the four cardinal points; in one of which stands a large seventy-four pounder, mounted on a

block carriage, and which was ready loaded when our troops took possession of it. About a mile from this place, and nearly in the centre of the town, stands the citadel, which is strongly built, in good preservation, and well stored with guns. The ramparts are high and thick, furnished with bastions, and surrounded by a deep ditch, faced with masonry. Massy gateways, and towers of considerable height, on one of which is mounted a sixty-pounder, defend the near and distant approaches. Near to the citadel stands the palace of the rajah, which is a very noble structure, containing a fine hall of audience, and other state apartments, in a similar style of elegance. Adjoining to this building is a beautiful tank, or basin, on which the rajah's family were accustomed to divert themselves with rowing in canoes; and on the top of one of the *wings of the palace* is another capacious reservoir of water, partly supplied by rain, but principally by a well reaching from the roof down to a great depth below the surface of the earth.

There are numerous canals in the royal gardens, each of which has its jets d'eau, that are set to play either singly, or all at once, by pulling the stoppers on the side of the reservoir just mentioned, and to which they communicate by tubes.

Besides the palace, the town of Deeg has many large edifices belonging to persons of rank; but for the most part the condition of them is such as plainly indicates the declension of the place from a state of splendour and opulence far exceeding what it now enjoys.

Plan
of the
MEMORABLE SIEGE.
of
BHURTPOOR.
&c.

CHAPTER XIX.

March to Bhurtpoor.—Commencement of the Siege.—Heavy Bombardment.—Unsuccessful Storm, January 9th, 1805.—Renewal of the Bombardment.—Stratagem and Gallantry of Three Troopers.—Second unsuccessful Storm.—Meer Khan defeated in his Attack on a Convoy.—Other Attempts upon a large Convoy from Agra frustrated.—Prosecution of the Siege.

THE next object of the commander-in-chief was the reduction of Bhurtpoor; for which purpose, after putting Deeg into a state of security, his Excellency marched on the twenty-eighth of December, and being joined three days afterwards by Major-General Dowdeswell, with his Majesty's seventy-fifth regiment, and a supply of necessary stores, the whole army moved on the first day of the new year, 1805, towards the capital of the rajah. After a very tedious march on the second, in the course of which day we passed Combheer, lying three or four miles from our line of route, we took up our encampment ground for a siege that has hardly a parallel in the history of modern India.

This celebrated and maiden fortress of Bhurtpoor, which is distant about thirty miles W. N. W. from Agra, stands upon a plain amidst jungles and water. The place is of great extent, and at this time had a most numerous garrison. No time, however, was lost on our part in opening the trenches, to facilitate which a grove, (*a. plate 7.*) considerably in advance of our camp, and advantageously situated for fa-

vouring our approaches, was occupied on the evening of the fourth by a party under Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland. The following night a breaching battery (*a*) for six eighteen-pounders was erected, and opened its fire on the morning of the seventh; on which day, about noon, another battery (*c*) of four eight-inch mortars, and four of five and a half inch each, commenced throwing shells into the town with great execution.

The cannonade on both sides continued, with little interruption, till the afternoon of the ninth, when the breach (*e*) in the town-wall being reported practicable, it was resolved to make the attack the same evening, to prevent the enemy from stockading the breach during the night, as had hitherto been the case.

Accordingly, the storming party moved off about seven o'clock in three columns. Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, with one hundred and fifty of the Company's Europeans, and a battalion of sepoys, had orders to attempt a gateway on the left of our battery; while Major Hawkes, with two companies of the seventy-fifth regiment, and another battalion of sepoys, were to carry the advanced guns of the enemy on its right. Both columns had instructions to make their way, if possible, into the town with the fugitives; but should that prove ineffectual, they were ordered to turn, and support the centre column in endeavouring to get in at the breach. The centre column, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, consisted of the flank companies of the twenty-second, seventy-fifth, and seventy-sixth regiments, and of the Company's European regiment, amounting in the whole to about five hundred men, with a battalion of sepoys. Precisely at eight o'clock, the three columns marched out of the

trenches, when a tremendous fire of cannon and small arms commenced, which did not cease till near midnight. Colonel Maitland had orders to take the enemy by surprise; but in this he unluckily failed, owing to an inadvertent disarrangement of the columns in diverging outwards on their arrival at the ditch. This misfortune arose from the irregularity of the ground, which, being much broken with swamps and pools, not only occasioned delay in the advance of the troops, but obliged the men to open out, and, in consequence, many lost their way, some following the left column and some the right. The twenty-second flankers, however, crossed the ditch, which was breast deep in water, and mounted the breach, though with great difficulty; and, being only about twenty-three in number, they could not attempt storming the enemy's guns on the bastions, to the right and left of them, without support. Lieutenant Manser, therefore, caused his men to sit down in the breach, under cover, while he went in search of the rest of the column. In the mean time, Major Hawkes having succeeded in driving the enemy from their guns on the right, and spiking them, was returning to the support of the centre; as also was Colonel Ryan, after performing a like service in expelling the enemy from their guns (c) outside of the gate; but the access to that entrance being cut off by a deep drain, it became impossible to follow up the advantage gained in this quarter. During these operations, the confusion originating by the impediments which the troops had to encounter in their advance, was increased by the darkness of the night, the broken state of the ground, and the dreadful fire to which all were exposed. The few flankers of the twenty-second having their remaining officers, Lieutenants Sweetnam and Creswell, wounded, and

seeing no appearance of being supported, were drawn off from the breach, which was enfiladed by three guns on the right bastion, from whence an incessant fire of grape was kept up on the assailants. Notwithstanding this, such was the determined spirit of the gallant Colonel Maitland, that, amidst all the dreadful circumstances by which he was surrounded, he continued his efforts with inflexible ardour, and fell in the last, when near the summit of the breach. Many other officers, as well as a number of the men, were either killed or wounded before the attempt was relinquished; but the troops suffered most on this occasion in the retreat to the trenches, from the destructive fire of the enemy's guns and musketry, to which they were completely exposed.

The distress of this mortifying scene was heightened by the melancholy fate of many of our wounded men, who, being unavoidably left behind, were most cruelly murdered, in cold blood, by the ferocious enemy.

Our entire loss in this afflicting business amounted to four hundred and fifty-six, consisting of forty-three Europeans and forty-two natives killed; two hundred and six of the former, and one hundred and sixty-five of the latter wounded.

The officers killed were Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland of the seventy-fifth regiment; Captain John Wallace, major of brigade; Lieutenant Glubb of the seventy-sixth; Lieutenant Percival of the artillery, who fell in the battery during the day; and Ensign Waterhouse of the twelfth regiment of native infantry. Those wounded were Major Campbell, Captains Hessman and Brutton, Lieutenants Byne, Tully, Mc'Lachlan, and Mathewson, of the seventy-fifth

regiment, and Ensign Hatfield of the same, missing: Captain Webner, and Lieutenant Cosgrove of the seventy-sixth; Lieutenants Sweetnam and Cresswell of the twenty-second flankers; Lieutenants Wood, Hamilton, and Browne, of the company's European regiment; Lieutenants Latter, Kerr, and Turnbull, first battalion of the eighth regiment; Major Gregory, Captains O'Donnell and Fletcher; Lieutenants Sharpe and Baker, second battalion of the twelfth regiment; and Lieutenant Fletcher of the second battalion of the twenty-second regiment.

Disastrous as this attempt had proved, the failure neither slackened exertion, nor weakened the confidence of success. Not a single moment was lost in the renewal of active operations; and as the enemy had repaired the first breach, it was now resolved to make an effort against another part of the wall, a little more to the right. Accordingly, an additional battery (*b*) of two twenty-fours, and four eighteens, was constructed in that direction, adjoining to the former one; besides which, several twelve-pounder batteries (*x x o*) were erected to take off the defences; and two of six-pounders (*y*) to flank the parallel (*u*). The whole of these, amounting to two twenty-four pounders, ten eighteen-pounders, seven twelves, and eight mortars, opened on the sixteenth, a very heavy fire, and with some effect. The ensuing morning it was discovered that the enemy had formed a stockade in the breach; but the fire being continued, the piles gave way, and a hole was made quite through the work. Our shells during the siege did much mischief; and among those who suffered by them, Rundeer Sing, the eldest son of the rajah, was wounded in the arm. The uncle of this prince came to his death in rather a remarkable manner.

Captain Nelly of the artillery, who commanded the old battery, seeing a large party looking intently over the parapet into the ditch, suffered them to do so for some time without molestation. At length a person of superior appearance to the rest, and covered with a large parasol, was observed descending a little way down the breach; on which, Captain Nelly, concluding that he must be of some distinction, laid one of the guns for him, saying to his men, "We will shew this fine curious gentleman how well we can hit a mark;" and ordering them immediately to fire, his words proved true, for the shot struck the brother of the rajah, and killed him on the spot.

It appeared afterwards, by the account of the hircarrah, or spy, that this personage lost his life through the mere desire of gratifying the strange curiosity of inspecting the bodies of our unfortunate men who fell in the late storm, and were still lying at the foot of the old breach.

On the eighteenth of January, Major-General Smith, with three battalions of sepoys belonging to the garrison of Agra, and one hundred convalescent Europeans, in all about sixteen hundred men, arrived in camp, after performing a march of fifty miles, by a circuitous route, in twenty-four hours.

Besides this addition to our strength, we were now joined by four or five hundred horse, under a chief named Ismael Beg, originally one of Holkar's partizans, but who abandoned his cause, and came over to us after the capture of Deeg.

Whatever might be the elation of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor at this time on account of the temporary advantage which he had derived from our unsuccessful attempt upon his capital, his circumstances were, in reality, far enough from affording him any satisfaction. His affairs

were indeed desperate; and such had been the treachery of his conduct, that he could not reasonably hope for any favours from the British government. He expressed his resolution to stand or fall with his fortress; but he knew that there was little chance of his being able to hold out long against the superiority of the British arms. In this exigency he courted the assistance of Meer Khan, then in Bundelcund, and to whom he sent six lacs of rupees to hasten his advance.

Lured by the present, and animated by the prospect of a more abundant harvest of plunder, that chieftain marched with all his force towards Bhurtpoor. In the interim, an incessant fire was kept up from our batteries till the twenty-first, when a large and practicable breach (b) was effected; but the enemy, finding that they could not silence our guns, and fearful that their own would be dismounted if they were the least exposed, had the precaution to draw them behind their parapets, thus keeping them in reserve to pour destruction upon our men, whenever they should advance again to storm the place.

On our side, keeping the same object in view, it became necessary, after the unfortunate business of the ninth instant, to have an exact knowledge of the breadth and depth of the ditch. Under an idea that this was not fordable, there had been prepared, some time before, three broad ladders covered with laths, and easily raised and depressed by levers at the brink of the ditch. In consequence of this it was requisite to have that part of the ditch opposite the breach inspected, which dangerous service was undertaken and carried into effect by three of our troopers, a havildar, and two privates belonging to the third regiment of native cavalry. These enterprizing men,

having disguised themselves in the dress of the country, sallied out on their horses about three o'clock in the afternoon from the neighbourhood of our trenches, and were instantly pursued as deserters by a party of sepoys, firing blank cartridges after them. On their arrival at the brink of the ditch, the two troopers' horses fell, and while the men were extricating themselves, the havildar called to the people on the walls, and entreated to be shewn the way into the city, that they might escape from the banchut feringhees, a reproachful term in India for Europeans. This had its effect; and the enemy, without supecting the stratagem, readily pointed out the way to one of the gates, which happening to be in the very direction required, the havildar, as soon as his men were mounted, rode along the side of the ditch, till having passed the breach, and made the necessary observations, the whole galloped back again, full speed, towards our trenches.

The enemy being now sensible of their design, and the object they had in view, began to howl with rage, and to fire in every direction upon the supposed deserters, who, however, arrived safe at head-quarters, where they received the promised reward of five hundred rupees each, and immediate promotion. According to their report, the breach was easy to be ascended, and the ditch was neither very broad, nor did it appear to be deep. Upon this it was determined to bring all the troops intended for the storm into the trenches that night, and after destroying the next morning all that the enemy might have repaired in the interval, to advance about noon to the assault. Accordingly, the whole moved before day-break on the twenty-first, and our cavalry were kept in readiness to attack the enemy's horse.

The following were the parties selected for this service. One hun-

dred and fifty men of the seventy-sixth; one hundred and twenty of the seventy-fifth; one hundred of the first European; and the fifty remaining men of the twenty-second flankers, headed by Captain Lindsey, who, on this occasion, threw away his crutch, and marched with his left arm in a sling, the effect of his former wounds. These were to lead the advance, supported, as soon as an entrance should be gained, by the remainder of the above regiments, and the second battalion of the ninth, fifteenth, and twenty-second native infantry.

The portable bridges were to be carried by picked men, who had been previously exercised in the mode of throwing them over; and the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth were to keep up a fire of musketry upon the parapet to drive off the enemy while that operation was performing.

At three in the afternoon the whole arrangement began to be carried into execution under the fire of our batteries; but to the great surprise of our brave fellows, it was found that the enemy had dammed up the ditch below the breach, and caused a large body of water that had been kept above it to be poured in, by which means it was widened and deepened almost instantaneously. The portable bridges, therefore, now proved too short; and a very tall grenadier, who jumped into the water, shewed that it was more than eight feet in depth. Notwithstanding these unexpected impediments, several of our men swam across, and even mounted the breach, among whom was Lieutenant Morris, who was wounded. Colonel Macrae, however, who commanded, seeing the impossibility of conveying any numbers over adequate to the service, prudently recalled the foremost, and retired with all haste back to the trenches. Throughout the whole time oc-

cupied in the advance, delay at the brink of the ditch, and the retreat, a heavy and destructive fire of grape, round-shot, and musketry, was kept up by the enemy with murderous effect, as appeared in the melancholy return of our killed and wounded, among whom were eighteen officers, besides five hundred and seventy-three of different descriptions, Europeans and natives.

While these transactions were going on at the breach, the British cavalry were drawn out into two lines (1 2), prepared to attack the confederate horse of the rajah, Holkar, and Meer Khan, which last had just arrived. The enemy, however, declined coming to a close engagement, and in spite of all our exertions we could do no more than prevent them from annoying our camp or trenches; and night coming on, we were compelled to give over pursuing them, after having killed about fifty with our galloper guns.

In this melancholy affair were killed Lieutenant Macrae, and Lieutenant Bland, of the seventy-sixth regiment; and Lieutenant Thomas M'Gregor, of the twentieth battalion of the fifteenth regiment of native infantry. The wounded officers were Captain William Hessman, and Lieutenants Thomas Grant and John Craig Thomas, of the seventy-fifth regiment; Lieutenants Templeton, James Macrae, and Bright, of the seventy-sixth; Captain Lindsey, who lost his leg, and Lieutenant Manser, of the twenty-second regiment; Lieutenant Towers, of the second battalion of the ninth; Captain-Lieutenant Addison, of the second battalion of the fifteenth; and Lieutenants Watson, Day, and Pollock, of the second battalion of the twenty-second; Lieutenant Galloway, of the pioneers on duty; and of the companies European regiment, Lieutenants Morris and Watson.

The day after this second failure, his Excellency, General Lake, caused the following general orders to be published.

"The commander-in-chief returns his best thanks to the officers, soldiers, and natives, for the gallantry and steadiness they displayed in the attack of yesterday; which, though ultimately unsuccessful, reflects the highest credit on the courage and intrepidity of the troops employed, and demands, in his Excellency's opinion, this public testimony of his approbation.

"The commander-in-chief cannot sufficiently lament the number of brave men who have suffered on this service; when the utmost exertions of their intrepid valour were unequal to surmount the unexpected obstacles which were opposed to them.

"The commander-in-chief trusts that in a very few days, those obstacles, which have hitherto rendered all attempts fruitless, will be completely surmounted; and that the good conduct and bravery of the soldiers of this army will be rewarded by the possession of the place, and by the opportunity of proving to the enemy and the country, that although hitherto, from unforeseen difficulties, success has not crowned their attempts, their spirit is undaunted, and that their gallantry and discipline must ultimately triumph.

"His Excellency feels infinitely indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Macrae, for the judgment and ability with which he arranged and conducted the attack.

"Extra batta is to be served out to the Europeans to-day, and two hundred rupees are to be given to each native corps of cavalry, infantry, gun lascars, and pioneers."

The same day, the first regiment of native cavalry, and the first

battalion of the fifteenth regiment, were detached under the command of Captain Walsh of the former corps, for the protection of a convoy of provisions, on its way from Mutra to our camp.

The detachment having joined the convoy, consisting of twelve thousand bullocks, guarded by a small body of matchlock-men, halted for the night, about six coss from camp, and moved again on the morning of the twenty-third, at an early hour. Meer Khan having received intelligence of this convoy, and of the nature of the force employed for its security, formed the resolution of showing the prowess of his troops by a dashing stroke; and to make sure of his purpose, marched his whole army of horse and foot, with four guns. With this force, amounting to about eight thousand men, he lay in wait for the convoy near Combheer, and at break of day fell in with our detachment, who being no more than fourteen hundred, could not possibly cover twelve thousand bullocks, when attacked by such a disparity of numbers. Our troops in this exigency took post in a large village, where they defended part of the bullocks with vigour and effect. Though beset on all sides, their musketry and field pieces operated so powerfully, as to beat off the assailants repeatedly, untill two of our guns happening to be disabled, the enemy's horse and foot made a desperate push, and possessed themselves of part of the village. Such was the state of the detachment and convoy at half past eight o'clock, when Lieutenant-Colonel Need, with the twenty-seventh dragoons, and the second regiment of native cavalry, hurried out of camp, on hearing the reports of the cannon, and hastened in that direction.

The sepoys, on perceiving the clouds of dust that marked our advance along the plain, set up loud shouts of exultation at the

approach, as they fancied, of General Lake; and under this impression they were so animated as to sally forth upon the enemy's guns, which they carried at the point of the bayonet just as our cavalry arrived, who dashed in among the dastardly foes, and covered the ground with killed and wounded before the rest of the troops, with the commander-in-chief, could come up. Six hundred of the enemy were slain, and the rest fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them near forty stands of colours, and the whole of their artillery, consisting of four guns with their tumbrils. Meer Khan, who commanded in person, effected his escape with difficulty. To avoid being distinguished in the pursuit by his appearance, he stripped himself of his clothes and arms, and mixing on foot with the other fugitives, thereby eluded observation, and succeeded in getting away; but not without the loss of his palanquin and a complete suit of armour, which were brought to our camp, together with another suit said to be that of Bappojee Scindiah.

During the contest, a great number of bullocks, laden with grain, for the want of conductors went astray; and many of them falling in the way of the enemy's horse, were goaded on by their lances, some in the direction of Bhurtpoor, and others towards Combheer.

The principal loss on our side in this affair amounted to eight sepoys killed, and thirty-six wounded; besides whom, Lieutenant Gordon, of the first battalion of the fifteenth regiment, and Cornet Erskine, of the first regiment of native cavalry, were wounded, as also were some of the European privates, though but slightly.

In noticing this affair, the commander-in-chief testified his high approbation of the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Need and Captain

Walsh, with that of the officers and men under their respective command, for the gallantry displayed by them on a service of considerable importance, and opposed by a vast superiority of numerical force.

On the twenty-fourth, a detachment, consisting of the twenty-ninth light dragoons, and two corps of native cavalry, with three battalions of sepoys, marched for the protection of supplies coming from Agra, which place they reached two days afterwards; and on the twenty-eighth, set out with the convoy, amounting to fifty thousand bullocks, carrying grain, and about eight hundred hackries laden with stores and ammunition, eight thousand rounds of eighteen pound shot for our battering guns, and six lacs of rupees. The next day we fell in with the enemy in great force; for being apprised that this valuable escort was on its route, the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, and his auxiliaries, Holkar, Meer Khan, and Bappoojee Scindiah, united their whole strength of cavalry for the purpose of intercepting it about midway from Agra. But it was impossible to elude the vigilance of the British general, who collected all the remaining cavalry in his camp, and with two corps of infantry, hastened to frustrate the intentions of the enemy, which had the effect of disheartening seven of their battalions in such a manner, that they returned precipitately to Bhurtpoor, to avoid the fate of their comrades, who, in consequence of being abandoned by their own horsemen on the twenty-third, were cut in pieces. The cavalry of the confederates were still formidable in numbers, but their timidity was manifest in shunning an encounter with the force under General Lake, so that the two corps joined without the loss of a man, or even, for any thing that appeared to the contrary, of a single bullock.

On the twenty-ninth, we encamped at Ore, in the form of a square, surrounded by the enemy, who, however, were unable to make any impression upon the convoy, and the next day we resumed our march, when, having tried once more to produce some confusion, by throwing rockets without effect, they retired about noon towards Bhurtpoor. After suffering pretty severely from our grape shot, amidst the jungle, where the guns were concealed, and also from the carbines and swords of a party of the eighth light dragoons, we were deprived of their company altogether; and the same evening arrived safely with our valuable charge at our camp.

On the sixth of February the army changed ground, moving a little way south-eastward to the right; and after driving the enemy's horse from the vicinity, succeeded in establishing a strong chain of posts, and in making every preparation for the continuance of the siege. Ever since the last failure, indeed, the utmost exertion was made for carrying on this great object, by the construction of fascines for the batteries, and boats of wicker-work, covered with bullocks' hides, similar to those described by Cæsar, as used by the ancient Britons, and which were to serve as pontoons; besides a portable raft, about forty feet long and sixteen broad, buoyed up by oil-skin casks, for the passage of the ditch. But while the army, under the commander-in-chief, was thus occupied before Bhurtpoor, our attention was called to the state of things in the Dooab, where Meer Khan had invaded the territories of the Company.

CHAPTER XX.

Divisions among the Confederates.—Invasion of the Dooab.—Meer Khan pursued by the British Cavalry under General Smith.—Komonu.—Colonel Grueber's Detachment.—Rebels defeated.—Passage of the Ganges.—Relief of Mr. Lester.—Account of Rampoor in Rohilcund.—March towards Pillibeet.—Return to the Northward.—Stand of the Enemy at Afzulghur.—Defeat of Meer Khan.—Pursuit continued.—A Corps relieved by Stratagem.—Second Defeat of the Enemy.—Meer Khan re-passes the Ganges.—Remarks.—Arrival before Bhurtpoor.

The Rajah of Bhurtpoor, finding that no reliance could be placed upon the numerous horse of his allies, who were invariably defeated whenever they came in contact with the British cavalry, began to be weary of an incumbrance which put him to an enormous expense, and exposed the whole confederacy to disgrace. After their last unsuccessful attempt upon our convoy, this discontent broke out into open complaints; and the several chiefs, in endeavouring to screen their respective forces from blame, widened the breach, and increased the feud, by throwing reflections upon one another. This flame of contention rose to such a height, that Meer Khan determined to act separately from the rest, and to try his luck in Rohilcund, which was his native country, and where also he expected to be joined by many refractory and turbulent characters. He was the more encouraged in this design, by the situation in which the British army then stood, and which he conceived to be such as to render it almost impossible for

General Lake to detach any part of his force, without being compelled to raise the siege. This chief, therefore, crossed the Jumna on the seventh of February, with his whole army of horse, and as many Pindarrees as were ready to accompany him, who were not a few, from the habitude of these people for plunder, and the flattering temptations now held out to them of gratifying that propensity in the territories of the Company.

No sooner, however, was the defection of Meer Khan known, than our commander-in-chief, with his accustomed penetration and promptitude, despatched the cavalry, consisting of the eighth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth regiments of light dragoons; and the first, third, and sixth regiments of native cavalry, with the horse artillery, under Major-General Smith, in close pursuit. This detachment left camp the very day after the departure of Meer Khan, and having crossed the Jumna, over the bridge of boats at Mutra, on the ninth, encamped in the Dooab, about three miles from the latter place. Meer Khan, who had crossed the same river at Furuch, about twelve miles below Mutra, was now reported to have taken the road towards Hatrass; in consequence of which information, we marched in that direction the day following; but after proceeding about eleven miles, and reaching Joar, we there learnt that the object of our pursuit, after having reposed the preceding night under the trees in that neighbourhood, had taken a north-easterly direction, instead of the road to Hatrass. Upon this intelligence our course was altered also, and leaving Joar, we marched north-east seven miles further, and encamped in the midst of a richly cultivated country.

On the eleventh, after a march of twenty-five miles, we encamped

under the fort of Allyghur, and were there joined by the detachment of Colonel Grueber, consisting of two battalions, two companies of the eleventh regiment, part of the Sebundy corps of Bareilly, and fourteen hundred of Skinner's horse; the whole of whom had formed the siege of the rebel fort of Komona; but hearing of the irruption of Meer Khan into the Dooab, whither he was said to have been invited by Doondiah Khan, the chief of Komona, for the purpose of relieving that place, the colonel thought it prudent to take shelter under the walls of Allyghur.

At one o'clock in the morning we continued our march, in hopes of coming up with the enemy at Komona; but on our arrival there, which was soon after day-break, we found that they had decamped in the early part of the night, taking the road to Anopshere. Captain Skinner, with five hundred of his horse, being ordered in pursuit, fell in with a party of the infantry belonging to Doondiah Khan, who were immediately attacked and dispersed, after losing great numbers.

Our detachment encamped this day about two miles from Komona, amongst very high grass, and on the thirteenth proceeded to Paanaghur, leaving Anopshere on our right. About half way, the baggage, which was following the cavalry column, protected by the infantry and Skinner's horse, was attacked in passing a small mud fort, belonging to Doondiah Khan; on which Colonel Grueber sent a company of sepoys to reduce the place, who blew open the gate, and after a sharp conflict, put all the rebels to the sword. In this affair we had one European officer killed, and several privates wounded. Colonel Grueber, with the whole of the infantry, and four hundred of Skinner's horse, now proceeded to Anopshere, whilst the cavalry continued

in pursuit of the enemy; and after a march of twenty-four miles through an open, but rather barren and sandy country, encamped on the fourteenth at Putghaut, on the banks of the Ganges. Here we learnt that Meer Khan had attempted to cross the river, but that not finding it fordable, he had shaped his course northward, whither we followed the next day; and after passing Gurmakther, a large and populous town, reached Comandanaghaut, where the object of our pursuit had succeeded the day before in getting over into Rohilcund. Our cavalry, upon this, instantly plunged into the Ganges at the same place, which, allowing for windings, is near fourteen hundred miles from the sea. The bed of the river here is at least a mile from bank to bank, though at this time of the year it was not above half covered with water, which was about breast high, except in the middle of the stream, where our horses frequently got out of their depth, and were obliged to swim. Several women and children of the bazaar, who were mounted on tattoos or poneys, and on bullocks, were swept away by the current and drowned. On the right and left of our tract were numerous quicksands, which rendered the passage dangerous, and made caution necessary, in following exactly the line of direction pointed out by the guides at the head of the column, who went on sounding as we proceeded. Notwithstanding this care, one of our guns got into a quicksand, where it must have been lost, but for the strength and sagacity of an elephant. This noble animal, on being brought near to the spot where the piece lay, finding the ground give way under his fore feet, instantly drew back with a dreadful roar, from a sense of his danger; but recovering himself, he began to try at another part, cautiously feeling his way, till having gained a footing

near enough to reach the gun, he first twisted his trunk round it, then drew it, with the carriage, out of the quicksand, and placed it on a hard bottom, from whence it was drawn on shore by the horses.

On getting over to the other side, we lost several camels, for the bank being steep and slippery, these useful animals, whose spungy feet are so admirably adapted to sandy soils, fell down under their heavy loads, and literally burst, so that it became necessary to shoot them.

Having thus crossed the Ganges, we encamped on its eastern shore, and halted the following day, being exceedingly fatigued with our exertions, and drenched during the night by the heavy rains.

On the seventeenth, after a march of twenty-one miles, we reached Amroha, a large town, where Meer Khan seized three of the principal inhabitants, and carried them away in order to extort money. The following day, after a march of the same distance, we reached Moraudabad, where we found that the enemy had destroyed the barracks of the sebundies, the public prison, and some of the houses belonging to our civil and military establishments. They were completely foiled, however, in their attempts upon the residence of Mr. Lester, the collector, owing to the precaution of that gentleman, in surrounding his house with a strong wall furnished with bastions and small guns, of which he made such good use, as to repulse the assailants in their repeated efforts to take the place. This little garrison consisted, besides their domestics and some English families who took refuge here, of sebundies or native militia, upon whom there could be little dependence, and several of whom, in fact, deserted. Our arrival, therefore, providentially saved the lives of many persons,

who, without doubt, would have experienced the most barbarous treatment on the fall of the place, which could not have stood out much longer against a ferocious banditti, who, on our approach, fled with the utmost precipitation.

Moradabad was formerly a city of great consequence, and had a mint of its own, the coinage of which is still current throughout Hindoostan.

After encamping along the opposite banks of the Ramgonga, we resumed our march on the twentieth, and reached Rampoor, taking up our ground by the side of a small rivulet, about a mile and a half from the town, which we found well prepared for opposing Meer Khan, had he taken this direction. All the narrow avenues and ravines, constituting the only approaches to the town, together with the gateways, had been strengthened, and troops stationed in them, with orders from the young Nawaub to make a vigorous resistance. An impenetrable barrier was also presented against an enemy, in a very beautiful bamboo hedge, thirty feet thick, and lined with spears and match-lock-men; the whole of which defence had a most formidable appearance.

Rampoor, formerly the capital of Fyzoola Khan, the celebrated Rohilla chieftain, is still the residence of his successor; but though the place is both large and populous, it has fallen greatly in its consequence. The form of government remains the same as before the revolution, but the power has greatly diminished, there being only a jaghire reserved for Ahmed Ali, the grandson of Fyzoola Khan, and of which estate Rampoor is part, with the annual revenue of ten lacs of rupees. This prince was at the time of our arrival about sixteen

years of age, under the regency or guardianship of his uncle, with whom he paid a visit during the evening to Major-General Smith in our camp.

The inhabitants of Rampoor retain all the peculiar characteristics for which the Patans are so remarkably distinguished from the other tribes in India. These people migrated from the mountains of Afghanistan about a century ago; and being equally inured to arms and husbandry, they soon rose, like the Jauts, into power, and made themselves masters of the fertile province of Cuttair, the name of which they altered to Rohilcund. They are a tall athletic race, with open countenances, and of a very martial appearance; but in disposition they are crafty, vengeful, and turbulent, though brave and faithful to their chiefs. The women are fair, with fine features, and very graceful and engaging in their manners. That part of the country through which we marched was well cultivated, and abounded in cattle:—such, indeed, is the luxuriance of vegetation, the richness of the soil, and the genial nature of the climate, as to entitle Rohilcund to the appellation of the garden of Hindoostan. Judging from the number of the villages, which stand high, and are surrounded with groves of mangoe trees, the population of this province must be both considerable and on the increase.

From Rampoor, on the twenty-first, we proceeded in a south-easterly direction to Chupperah, and the day following came to Sheerghur, on the road to Pillibeet. These two mornings exhibited a spectacle, which in sublimity and beauty surpassed all power of description, and to which even the pencil of Claude would have been incapable of doing justice.

The grey mist of the dawn was deepened in our front by the shadows of the mountains of Kemaon, over which arose the sun in magnificent splendour, spreading a broad stream of light that gave a delightful effect to the varieties of the surrounding scenery. Directly before us, at the distance of thirty or forty miles, was a range of hills, rich in verdure, and covered to their summits with stately forests of saul, sissoo, and fir-trees; while far beyond, towered high above the clouds the gigantic Himalaya mountains, their heads crowned with eternal snow, and glittering with the effulgence of the solar beams, playing on the immense glaciers of these unexplored regions.

According to observations made by Colonel Colebrooke at Pillibeet and Juthpoor, the height of one peak in the Himalaya range, distant from the former place one hundred and fourteen, and from the latter ninety miles, was calculated, trigonometrically, at twenty thousand three hundred and eight feet, allowing for refraction at the same rate as for celestial objects. But by allowing one-eighth of the intercepted arc for terrestrial refraction only, the result gave a height approximating to twenty-two thousand feet, in round numbers; or with a still greater reduction of allowance for the elevation above the plains of Rohilcund, the height would be twenty-two thousand two hundred and ninety-one feet; which is nearly equivalent to twenty-two thousand eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. The subsequent observations of Mr. Webb, taken during a survey of Kemaon, give the altitude of twenty-seven peaks, the lowest of which is from nineteen thousand and ninety-nine to twenty-three thousand one hundred and sixty-four feet.

Grand as the scene was which on all sides presented itself to our

view, we had a very unpleasant and fatiguing march thus far, owing to the numerous broad ditches and the winding of a deep nullah or river, which last we had to cross three times this day. The country also through which we passed, from being highly cultivated, exhibited during the last ten miles nothing but jungle grass. We halted the two following days at Sheerghur, being nearly in a centrical situation between Pillibeet, Rampoor, and Bareily.

At this time, Meer Khan was at the foot of the hills to the northward of us, whither, however, we could not easily follow him; nor was it of much consequence, as it was out of his power to do any material injury in such a rocky and uncultivated country; while, from the position taken up by us, the three principal cities of the province were completely secured from depredators.

On the twenty-fifth, we marched back towards Rampoor, by Millick, a small village, where we encamped. The face of the country in this neighbourhood appeared exceedingly flourishing; and the inhabitants, whose cheerfulness indicated the satisfaction they felt under the British government, welcomed our arrival with presents to the troops, of milk, poultry, fruits, and other necessaries.

On passing by Rampoor the following day, the Nawaub again came to pay his respects to General Smith, whom he congratulated on the taking of Bhurtpoor; which news being also in the akbaree or gazette published at this place, and generally believed, gave us some hopes of its truth.

On the twenty-seventh we returned across the Ramgonga to Moraudabad, where we were met by Colonel Grueber's detachment, on their way to Bareily. The next day, in pushing on northerly to Kanaut,

or Sheerghurry, we came in sight of some Pindarrees, who were plundering and burning the villages. Two of these marauders were overtaken and brought in prisoners. In the course of the same morning, we received letters from the camp before Bhurtpoor, conveying the disheartening particulars of two more unsuccessful attempts made upon that fortress on the twentieth and twenty-first instant; which news, after what we had been led to hope, tended very much to depress our spirits.

On the first of March we proceeded in a north-westerly direction to Badalli, where the enemy had left some further traces of their ferocious character, in the smoking ruins of the surrounding villages. The next day, marching north-east by Sheeroot, we were informed that Meer Khan was about nine miles off, with all his force. On receiving this welcome intelligence, General Smith gave orders for the baggage to halt at this place, under the protection of the rear guard, and the third regiment of native cavalry; while the remaining troops, consisting of about fourteen hundred regular cavalry, and Skinner's irregular horse, moved on in quest of the enemy, whom we found about two o'clock in the afternoon, after a very long march, near Afzulghur, close under the hills, drawn up in order of battle, and prepared for an attack. Our small detachment having forded the Ramgonga, in the face of the enemy, was formed into two lines; the first, consisting of the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth dragoons; the second, of His Majesty's eighth light dragoons, and the sixth regiment of native cavalry. The advanced guard, under Captain Philpot, was intended for the protection of the right; and the irregular horse, under Captain Skinner, for that of the left flank: but this arrangement was only partially executed.

As our line advanced, the enemy advanced also; on which, the horse artillery were drawn out in front, firing briskly, as did the gallopers, on the flanks. The line now trotted on, but were quickly halted by the impediment of a deep nullah in front, which obstructed our intended charge. At this moment, a body of alyghools, who had lain concealed in the nullah, sprang up suddenly, and advanced in a very daring manner upon our line. From their manner, and carrying white flags before them, which they stuck in the ground close to our men, they were taken at first for friends, or a party desirous of coming over to us; but the mistake was soon discovered, by their rushing furiously with drawn tolwars and pikes on our astonished dragoons, who, not having received the word to charge, had their ranks pierced while standing still, which caused a momentary confusion. But this shock was of short duration, for a squadron of the eighth regiment immediately charging these desperadoes, thereby restored order to the whole line; and the enemy's infantry being unable to escape, were entirely destroyed. While this was going on in front, two bodies of horse, one led by Meer Khan, and the other by his brother, Shahamut Khan, attempted to penetrate our flanks, but were repulsed with loss. The latter was kept off on the right by the gallopers on that flank, which occasioned great slaughter; and Meer Khan was so warmly received on the left by Skinner's horse, as to be under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him several stands of colours, and losing some of his principal chiefs.

The enemy were closely followed beyond the town of Afzulghur; but their baggage having been sent off the same morning, as a measure

of precaution on being apprized of our approach, their flight was of course unincumbered; while our horses, from the fatigues which they had undergone, the late hour of the day, and the hilly nature of the country, could not well continue the pursuit.

Three of Meer Khan's principal sirdars were killed; and it was credibly stated, that his brother, Shahamut Khan, and another chief sirdar, named Rahmut Khan, were wounded. Gholaum Aly Khan, a leading sirdar, who was also wounded, and made prisoner, afterwards wished to be employed in the British service, and refused to go back to Meer Khan. That adventurer himself escaped, but the best part of his followers suffered. The infantry which he had with him were entirely new levies of stout and hardy Patáns, whom he bound by oath, to fight with the utmost desperation, which they certainly did; but the whole of them fell in battle.

The loss on our side consisted of five rank and file, and four of Skinner's privates, killed, with about thirty wounded; among whom were Major Carden and Captain Burke of the twenty-ninth, and Captain Gore and Lieutenant Bunce of the twenty-seventh dragoons.

After the action, we returned to Sheeroot, where our baggage had been deposited, and there halted. During our stay here, a native of Rampoor was taken by the people of the town in the act of plundering, and other outrages, for which he was ordered to be executed, when several gold mohurs were found concealed about his person.

On the fourth, our detachment encamped at Sheerghur, after a tedious march of nineteen miles, through an uncultivated country, and over very broken ground intersected by deep ravines and nullahs.

The next day we marched at the same rate of distance to Monu-

dabad, where we learned that Meer Khan, after the action of Afaulghur, had taken a circuitous route, and passed this town the preceding day.

Leaving our wounded officers and men at this place, we marched on the sixth four miles W. S. W. on the road to Amroah, where we encamped by the side of the Gunnan river. The next day, having marched about fifteen coss, we arrived at Chandowsy, where we found that the enemy had burnt the cantonments, and laid the town under contribution.

On the eighth, the detachment took the road to Bareilly; and General Smith, being apprehensive that the views of Meer Khan were directed against that place, and the southern parts of Rohilcund, determined to get before him. Accordingly, after two long marches, we encamped on the banks of the Ramgonga, covering the ford in such a manner, as to compel the enemy either to fight or return to the northward.

At this time an interesting circumstance occurred, that evinced the genuine feeling of fraternal affection and great presence of mind under a pressing difficulty. A party of about five hundred horse, commanded by the younger Skinner, which had been detached on the sixth, with orders to cross the Ganges at Anopshere, and return to the Dooab, were attacked by the enemy on their march, near Sumbul, and completely surrounded. In this exigency, the small party took shelter in a caravanserai, where, though the wall was in a ruinous state, they defended themselves bravely several days against a great superiority of force, and under an alarming want of provisions. Meer Khan, at first, offered to treat them well, on the condition of their

entering into his service; but, notwithstanding the perilous state in which they were, the whole party resisted his overtures, and repulsed his troops with considerable loss in several attacks which the latter made to carry the place. When the intelligence of his brother's situation reached the elder Captain Skinner, the distress which it occasioned was heightened by the consideration that no relief could be afforded by General Smith, who was withheld from marching in that direction. In this dilemma, he had recourse to the following stratagem, which fortunately proved successful. He despatched a hircarah with a note directed to his brother, promising that we should be with him in a few hours; desiring, therefore, that he would continue to hold out, and bestow a reward upon the bearer. This man, however, was directed to put himself in the way of Meer Khan, and deliver him the letter, who, on reading it, bestowed some stripes on the pretended deserter, and then suddenly decamped, leaving the besieged and the messenger, which last having recovered the note, gave it to young Skinner, who rejoined us at Sercey the following evening.

On the ninth, we marched twenty miles W. N. W. on the road to Chandowsy, which place we passed the next day, and encamped three coss from Sumbul, where Meer Khan had recently been on a visit to his mother, a poor woman, in very mean circumstances. As Skinner's party of horse had no longer any thing to fear from the enemy, who continued to retreat with the utmost rapidity on our advance, they now prosecuted their march to Anopshere, which they reached without interruption. After halting during the eleventh, we proceeded about an hour before midnight on the road to Amroah; at which place we encamped the next day, and met there the detachment of Colonel Burn; from whom

we learnt, that Captain Murray, having been sent with a party of horse to escort treasure from Moraudabad to the colonel's camp, had on his way been surrounded by the enemy in such numbers, that he took shelter in a village, or serai, three coss from Amroah. On the tenth, the enemy attacked the village, but were constantly beaten off with considerable loss; and one of their chiefs, who led the assault, was killed close under the wall. From the rich golden necklace this person wore, and the repeated attempts *made by his party to carry off the body*, in which, however, *they could not succeed*, it was evident that he was a man of distinguished consequence. At this time, Colonel Burn, who was guarding the ford where we first crossed the Ganges, received orders to move up along the west side of the river, to prevent the enemy from passing over at Hurdwar, and getting into the Seik country. He was, accordingly, preparing to execute these orders, when hearing of Captain Murray's situation, he immediately hastened to his assistance; and at five o'clock the same evening came up with the enemy. Meer Khan, on seeing our infantry, instantly moved off, taking the direction of Chandpore, north of Amroah, at which last place his bazaars arrived late at night, without having been apprised of what had occurred, and little suspecting that any of our troops were so near; when suddenly Captain Murray's horse pushed in amongst them; and though for a time opposed by a body of allyghools, cut them all up; there being about five hundred killed and wounded, and all the baggage taken.

The detachment halted during the thirteenth, on learning that Meer Khan, finding the Ghaut clear, had made a forced march, and recrossed the Ganges, vexed with disappointment, mortified by successive defeats,

and sunk into general contempt. After the action of Afzulghur, many of his partizans forsook his standard, especially of the Patan followers, and his countrymen of Rohilcund; who, finding that there was nothing to be gained in his service, returned to their families, so that his force was reduced to less than half its original strength. Besides the loss of military reputation, in having been so repeatedly foiled and shamefully discomfited by insignificant numbers, the name of Meer Khan had now become odious among the natives, for his inhumanity in carrying off defenceless women and children, whom he dragged on with his bazaars, and treated with great cruelty. To increase his mortifications, he failed in his great object of amassing wealth by plunder. Though he levied contributions upon Amroah, Moraudabad, and Chandowsy, his stay was too short at those places to be very productive; and, except the devastations committed by his troops in the defenceless villages, they were prevented from doing much mischief in their progress, as the fortified towns easily kept them off, and we were continually pressing upon their heels.

The ill-reception which Meer Khan met with in his native province of Rohilcund, and among a people characteristically noted for their craft and treachery, afforded a striking and demonstrative evidence of the value put by the inhabitants on the blessing of an equitable government. Under the old administration of Oude, as established after the battle of Cutterah, in 1774, this fine country rapidly declined in the condition of the people and the productiveness of revenue; but since, by the wise policy of the Marquis Wellesley, it has become a part of our eastern empire its fertility has increased with the improved state of commerce and manners. The position of the province,

the genial nature of the climate, and the luxuriance of the vegetation, aided by numerous streams and other advantages, altogether render Rohilcund one of the happiest spots in India, and afford a fair prospect, in the continuance of peace, to make it in time one of the richest.

On the fourteenth, our detachment proceeded to the Commandanah Ghaut, and encamped, after marching twenty-two miles on the banks of the river, close to the ford.

The following morning, at the dawn of day, the detachment began to cross the river, which was now considerably deeper than at our last passage; the baggage being conveyed over first, and then the line; the whole landing on the western bank in safety by eleven o'clock, when we encamped.

On the sixteenth we recommenced our march through a country exhibiting little appearance of cultivation; and passing Gurmacktisher, arrived at Bahmudur Gunge, a small but fortified town. The next day, we came to Jehanghirabad, an extensive town, surrounded by a high wall. Three miles north from hence, we passed Paenaghur, a near square fort, with a dry, but very deep and wide ditch, strengthened by a strong roovy wall between that and the ramparts. A fine elevated road runs along from this place to Jahanghirabad, and continues thence as far as Anopshere.

On the eighteenth, we encamped near Komona, whose chief, Doondja Khan, finding there was no prospect of success in his rebellious course, had just before made his submission, and sued for an amnesty, which he obtained from the liberality of our government, though little deserved on his part, as appeared by his subsequent

turbulent conduct, when offensive operations were necessarily resumed against his fort, before which many valuable lives were lost; and among others that of Captain Fraser, the son of Major-General Fraser, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Deeg.

On the nineteenth we reached Coel, where we were informed that Meer Khan was at this time recrossing the Jumna; and when we passed through Joar the following day, we found that his remaining troops had completely ransacked that place. On the twenty-first we also passed the river at Mutra, and the next day, after encountering a few of the enemy's horse, arrived on the twenty-third at the British camp before Bhurtpoor. Thus, after a tedious chace of more than seven hundred miles, we rejoined our friends where we had left them a month before, in the hope that we should at our meeting be enabled to interchange congratulations on each other's success. 23

The detachment after this expedition was somewhat the worse for wear; but though the cattle and many of the horses were completely knocked up, the state of the whole was even better than what might have been reasonably expected. It merits remark in this place, that the Bengal cavalry, through the campaign, endured trials and hardships almost surpassing conception, and such as astonished even our most active enemies. Independent of their long marches up to Delhi, they pursued Holkar above five hundred miles closely, till they overtook him, and compleated his overthrow, at the battle of Furruckabad; shortly after which, they were called unexpectedly to the chace of Meer Khan, whom they followed through all his doublings and windings, over rivers of great magnitude, and to the mountains of Kemaon, from whence he was forced back, discomfited, and alun-

doned by the hardiest of his followers. In this fatiguing course, the most harassing part which we had to undergo consisted in our nocturnal marches, which, continuing night after night through the whole month, proved exceedingly distressing to man and beast, in depriving them of that natural rest which they sought in vain during the heat of the day.

CHAPTER XXI.

Operations before Bhurtpoor continued.—Arrival of the Bombay Division.—State of the Siege.—Sally of the Enemy.—Third and fourth Storm.—Siege converted into a Blockade.—Measures for renewing the Attack.—The Rajah sues for Peace.—Head-Quarters of Holkar broken up.—Desperate State of his Affairs.—Again defeated.—Peace concluded with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor.—The Army crosses the Chumbul.—Suspicious Conduct of Scindiah.—Visit of the Rana of Gohud.—Junction with the Bundelcund Division.—Retreat of Scindiah, Holkar, and Meer Khan.—Field Detachments.—Distribution of the Army on the Banks of the Jumna.

On our return from the pursuit of Meer Khan, we found that the army had shifted its ground to the north and east side of Bhurtpoor, after the two last unsuccessful attacks upon that fortress, the particulars of which remain to be narrated. Two days after our departure, the commander-in-chief was reinforced by a division of the Bombay army, under Major-General Jones, who arrived on the night of the tenth of February, having traversed the whole of Malwa, the heart of the Mahratta empire, and including the hereditary dominions of Holkar and Scindiah. This division consisted of four battalions of sepoys, His Majesty's eighty-sixth regiment, and eight companies of the sixty-fifth regiment, with a troop of Bombay cavalry, and about five hundred irregular horse.

The siege was now going on smoothly, and with every appearance of success; which was further strengthened by the harmony and spirit that prevailed among the several parts of our force. The two

divisions were, indeed, animated by the most ardent emulation, and strove with laudable zeal which should have the precedency in the post of labour and danger for the honour of reducing this stubborn fortress. The Bombay army were very anxious to be employed; but the Bengal troops, exhausted as they had been by their exertions and losses, no less earnestly petitioned that they might be allowed to finish the operations of the siege by themselves. In this application, the Bengal artillery distinguished themselves by their solicitude; for though few in number, and fatigued beyond conception, by working the guns ever since the commencement of the siege, without ever having been relieved, the very thoughts of being deprived of their post distressed them exceedingly, and they entreated permission to discharge the duties of their station alone. The last failure having proved that our loss was occasioned chiefly by the want of an approach, and the remote distance of our breaching batteries, it was now determined to carry on regular trenches, (*x x*) and to form batteries within four hundred yards of the place. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February, a battery of six eighteen-pounders, (*y*) and another (*z*) carrying one ten inch mortar, three eight inch, and four five and a half inch ones, being completed, opened their fire; while a battery (*w*) of two twelve-pounders, was erecting still nearer, to take off the defences on the right bastion. (*a*)

Every thing being in a state of forwardness, on the twentieth the storming party was ordered to the trenches at an early hour, to be in readiness for the attack as soon as the repairs and stockades made in the breach (*c*) during the night should have been knocked off again. Our approaches were carried on to the brink of the ditch, at which

extremity a mine was intended to be made for the purpose of blowing up the counterscarp, and of effecting a sloping access.

In the course of the same night, the enemy made a sally, and several crept into the approach at day-break without being perceived, as our men always left the place before that hour. There they remained some time, demolishing the preparations that had been made for the chamber, and carrying off the implements and utensils. Our storming party had but just reached the trenches, when the sound of the tom-toms, or small drums, announced a sally; soon after which, the enemy were seen rushing from their concealment, and running along the top of the approach, armed with long pikes and talwars, with which they killed and wounded several of our men below; but being met by the twenty-second flankers, under Lieutenant Wilson, numbers of the assailants were bayonetted, and the rest fell in the utmost disorder. This affair being over, our batteries renewed their fire in order to complete the breach, (o) and about half-past three in the afternoon the attack began.

The storming party, under Lieutenant-Colonel Doi, was formed of the principal portion of the European force in the Bengal army, and three battalions of sepoys; one column, consisting of two hundred of the eighty-sixth regiment from the Bombay division, and the first battalion of the eighth regiment of Bengal infantry, under the command of Captain Grant of the former corps, was ordered to carry the enemy's trenches (o) and their guns on the outside of the town; whilst a third column, composed of three hundred of the sixty-fifth regiment, and two battalions of Bombay sepoys, were to attack the Beem Narain gate, which, according to report, was easily accessible for guns. Captain Grant's assault was the signal for the whole to move out,

which took place a little before four. It was arranged that the storming party should be preceded by fifty men carrying fascines, which they were to throw into the ditch, then wheel outwards, and keep up a fire of musketry to the right and left, while the foremost were to cross over and ascend the breach. Unfortunately, however, our men were prevented from advancing according to the original plan, owing to the imperfect construction of the approach, and their being exposed to an enfilading fire on the right and left from the enemy's guns, which were previously drawn behind the parapet on the narrow neck joining the curtain to the bastions. To increase these impediments, the knowledge which our men had that the enemy were in possession of the extremity of the approach for a considerable time in the morning, diffused a general damp, lest the chamber should be loaded, and the whole be blown up the instant of their advance. Thus a gloom was spread over the party, which became still more dismal and discouraging from the groans of the wounded, and the convulsions of their dying comrades, who, after the sally, had been unavoidably left exposed to the fire of the enemy.

Our whole party had to pass through the approach, which, being narrow, the troops in the rear could not possibly get on till the foremost moved out and made way for them. These, however, refused to advance, in spite of all the exertions and intreaties made use of by Colonel Don, who then called to the troops behind to follow him; on which the brave remains of the twenty-second flankers, assisted by the twelfth regiment, stepped out at once, supported by two six-pounders under Lieutenant Swinley. These guns being run out upon the plain, were to keep up a fire of grape on the walls and bastions, whilst our troops

attempted the assault. A tall sepoy, on running into the ditch near the breach, shewed that it was impassable; but some others discovered a bastion on the right, of so rough an appearance, as to present the chance of climbing up by it, which several tried and succeeded. In this daring adventure, one of the twenty-second flankers was blown from the muzzle of a gun just as he was entering the embrazure. The colours of the twelfth regiment of native infantry, however, were planted on the top of the bastion, but the ascent was so difficult, only one man being able to mount at a time, that sufficient numbers could not get up to support each other, and maintain possession of the advantage that had been gained. At this period, the enemy, under an idea that our party was near, sprung their mines in the breach, of which mistake had our men, who were still in the approach, availed themselves, by dashing instantly out after their officers, the place would in all probability have been taken; especially as the enemy had no more mines to spring, and the breach was now become much larger and easier of access by the explosion. Fourteen officers succeeded in climbing up very near the summit of the bastion, and would have tried to carry it at the most imminent risk, had not Colonel Don, who saw the uselessness of the attempt without support, recalled the whole party.

The column under Captain Grant was more fortunate, by gaining immediate possession of eleven of the enemy's guns, all of which were brought off to the camp. But the column from the Bombay division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, notwithstanding the exertions which they made, failed in effecting their object, owing to their being delayed by a large body of the enemy's horse, and to the mistake of their guide;

so that they were very early exposed to a most destructive fire from the town, which, by destroying the ladders, rendered the attempt on the gate impracticable, and obliged the colonel to draw his men under cover until he received orders to return to camp.

Our loss in this disastrous business was very severe, amounting to forty-nine Europeans and one hundred and thirteen natives killed; one hundred and seventy-six Europeans and five hundred and fifty-six natives wounded: in all, eight hundred and ninety-four. 894

The return of the officers who suffered on this occasion was as follows.

Killed.

Bengal Division, Lieut. Steward, H. M. 75th Regiment.

Wounded.

Artillery, Capt. Nelly, Lieut. Swinney, and Mr. Conductor W. Hale.
H. M. 65th Regiment, Capt. Bates, Lieuts. Bates and Hutchins.
H. M. 76th ditto, Capt. Boyce, Lieuts. Hamilton and Mansel.
European Regiment, Lieut. Moore, since dead.
8th Regiment, N. I. Lieut. Kerr, since dead.
1st Bat. 12th Regiment, Major Radcliffe, Lieuts. Ryne and Taylor.
2nd. Battalion ditto, Capt. Fletcher, Lieuts. Baker, Drysdale, and J. Aylmer.
1st Battalion 16th Regiment, Lieuts. Sibley and Turner.
2nd Battalion 22nd Regiment, Capt. Griffiths and Lieut. Blakeney.
Pioneer Corps, Lieut. A. Locket.

Wounded.

Bombay Division, 1st Grenadier Battalion, Capt. Steele.
1st Bat. 3rd Regiment, Capt. Kemp.
1st Bat. 9th Regiment, Capt. Haldington and Lieut. Morrison.

As it was supposed that the bastion (*d*) on which some of the storming party had climbed up and nearly reached, might be rendered perfectly easy of ascent by more battering, it was resolved to make

the attempt, and notwithstanding the disasters already sustained, to renew the storm on the following day.

Impressed with deep concern at what had happened, and anxious to excite a corresponding feeling in the minds of those, who, on the preceding occasion, had by their backwardness inflicted an injury on the service not to be repaired, the commander-in-chief appeared on the parade the next morning, and addressed them in terms of affectionate regret, rather than stern severity. He expressed his sorrow, that by not obeying their officers yesterday, they had lost the laurels which they had gained on so many occasions; but that being yet willing to give them an opportunity of retrieving their reputation, he now called for such as chose to volunteer in another effort to step out.

Overpowered with shame and remorse, they all volunteered to a man; and Lieutenant Templeton, with a noble fervour of patriotic zeal, offered to lead the forlorn hope.

The same morning our battering guns, having been traversed a little to the right, with the little ammunition that was left, made so large a gap at the bottom of the bastion, that it was supposed the weight of the superincumbent part would bring down the whole. Though this expectation failed, the attempt was not abandoned; and indeed there was no alternative, as the army were now suffering greatly by the want of supplies of every description.

The storming party, consisting of the whole European force, two battalions of native infantry of the Bengal army, the greater part of the sixty-fifth and eighty-sixth regiments, the grenadier battalion, and the flank companies belonging to the first battalion of the third regiment of the Bombay division, moved on to the attack about three

o'clock in the afternoon, under the command of the honourable Brigadier Monson. The men, in passing the commander-in-chief, cheered, expressive of their determination either to carry the place and avenge their comrades, or to die in the conflict. Nor did their conduct on the onset discredit the resolution which they manifested at setting out. The bastion to be attacked was extremely steep; and though the gap that had been made in it below sheltered those who could avail themselves of its protection, there was no possibility of getting from thence to the summit.

Several soldiers drove their bayonets into the wall, one over another, and endeavoured by these steps to reach the top, but were knocked down by logs of wood, large shot, and various missiles, from above. Others attempted to get up by the shot-holes which our guns had here and there made; but as only two at the most could advance in this dangerous way, they who thus ventured were easily killed; and when one man fell, he brought down with him those who were immediately beneath. All this time the enemy on the next bastion kept up a sweeping and most destructive fire upon our men, and made them suffer extremely. That gallant young officer, Lieutenant Templeton, who so nobly volunteered to head the party, was killed just as he had planted the colours near the summit. Major Menzies also, who, on obtaining leave from the commander-in-chief, had flown to the scene of action, where, by his animating language and heroic example, he greatly invigorated the troops, was slain, after having actually gained that perilous eminence.

During this tremendous struggle and scene of death, several efforts were made on the curtain, and other places, wherever the soldiers

thought they could discern an opening that promised them the chance of success. While our troops were in this distressing situation, the enemy kept up an incessant fire of grape shot against them: and the people on the walls continually threw down upon their heads ponderous pieces of timber, and flaming packs of cotton, previously dipped in oil, followed by pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles, the explosion of which had a terrible effect. The struggle was, indeed, carried on with the most determined resolution on both sides; and our men evinced throughout the fearful conflict an astonishing and almost desperate degree of valour. Colonel Monson strained himself to the utmost in maintaining the unequal struggle: but at length, seeing that the case was hopeless, after two hours arduous and almost unparalleled exertion, he was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the attempt, and return to the trenches.

Our loss, on this fatal occasion, consisted of sixty-nine Europeans, and fifty-six natives, killed; four hundred and ten Europeans, and four hundred and fifty-two natives, wounded: in all, nine hundred and eighty-seven.

The following is the casualty list of the officers who fell or suffered in this last attempt.

Killed.

Major Menzies, Aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief.
Artillery, Lieut. George Downing.
H. M. 76th Regiment, Capt. Canfield, and Lieut. Templetown.
2nd Bat. 15th Regiment, Lieut. Hartley.
1st Grenadier Bat. of the Bombay Division, Ensign J. Lang.

Wounded.

Lieut. Durant, Major of Brigade.
Artillery, Capt. Pennington.
H. M. 22nd Regiment, Lieut. Wilson.

H. M. 65th Regiment, Capts. Symes, Worren, and Watkins, Lieuts. Hutchings, O'Brien, Hinde, Clutterbuck, and Harvey.
H. M. 76th Regiment, Capt. E. Engel, Lieut. and Adjutant Matthewson.
H. M. 78th Dragoons, Capt. Manton, Lieut. Sinclair, and Quarter-Master Hopkins.
H. M. 86th Regiment, Capt. Morton, and Lieut. Baird.
East India Company's European Regiment, Capt. Ramsay, Lieut. Hamilton, and Ensign Chance.
1st Bat. 2nd Regiment, Lieut-Col. Hammond, Major Hawkes, and Lieut. Arbuthnot.

BOMBAY DIVISION.

2nd Bat. 2nd Regiment, Lieut. Thomas.
1st Bat. 3rd Regiment, Lieut. Fry.
1st Bat. 9th Regiment, Lieut-Col. Taylor, and Lieut. Garraway.

Thus ended our attempts to carry the fortress of Bhurtpoor by storm, in which we had three thousand and one hundred men, with one hundred and three officers, killed or wounded; a sacrifice that would, in all human probability have been saved, had not our first effort failed, through the delay occasioned by the disorder in advancing, and the wandering of the troops out of their way. At that time the place, but for these accidents, would have been cheaply gained, for the inhabitants were in the utmost confusion, and using every means to effect their escape from a town, the fate of which they considered as sealed. The failure of our first assault, while it multiplied our difficulties, inspired the enemy with confidence, which increased during the progress of the siege to such a degree, that in proportion as we employed our powers for the reduction of the place, they quickened their ingenuity in providing the means of its defence. // 32

After the last failure, the siege was converted into a blockade; our guns, which were mostly all blown at the touch-hole, and rendered unserviceable, were withdrawn; detachments were sent off for supplies;

and on the twenty-fourth, the army removed to a fresh spot to the north-east of Bhurtpoor, but not without being much harassed by the enemy's horse, who took the advantage of the absence of our cavalry.

The greatest activity, however, still prevailed, for the renewal of our operations against Bhurtpoor: and every preparation was made to carry the great object that had been commenced; and the necessity of effecting which was now become imperative. Convoys, with supplies of all kinds from different parts, and battering guns, with ammunition, from Futtyghur and Allyghur, arrived daily in camp; where fascines were preparing for the erection of new batteries; and the old guns, which had been blown, were now repaired, and rendered efficient. In the mean time the rajah, who, notwithstanding his successful defence, was still apprehensive that the result of the contest would be the loss of his territory, appeared extremely desirous of an accommodation: for this, indeed, he had sufficient reasons, as his country was in a devastated state, the villages being in ruins, the fields uncultivated, and his treasury exhausted. He had no longer any thing to expect from the assistance of Holkar, Meer Khan, and other allies, who were themselves so humbled by the British arms, as to be incapable of rendering him the least service. So far was the rajah from having profited by this imprudent connexion, that his means were drained to support the troops of his auxiliaries, who, after all, had proved an incumbrance rather than a benefit, by impoverishing his revenue and oppressing his people. This prince, besides, could not help seeing that the commander with whom he was contending possessed means of hostility far beyond his own contracted powers; and he had now sufficient experience of the character of the British

general and his army, to be convinced that obstinacy on his part would be met by equal perseverance, which must ultimately end in the annihilation of his authority. Impressed by these considerations, the rajah availed himself at this time of the intelligence of General Lake's advancement to the peerage, to send a letter to his Excellency, congratulating him on that event, and intimating his desire of peace; and offering, under proper encouragement, to proceed in person to our camp.

In consequence of this overture, the vakeels of the rajah were received on the tenth of March, and negotiations for a treaty immediately commenced. Pending these arrangements, the British cavalry arrived from the pursuit of Meer Khan; and after resting a few days, marched silently out of camp about one in the morning, on the twenty-ninth, headed by the commander-in-chief, with the view of beating up the quarters of Holkar, who, with his remaining force, lay about eight miles to the westward of Bhurtpoor.

According to the plan previously settled, Colonel Don, with the reserve, was to attack the enemy's right, while the other troops moved round their left; but on coming upon them at the break of day, we found them prepared for flight, having received information of our approach. Though we pursued them several miles, and killed about two hundred, such was their celerity, that it was impossible to get with the main body. Two elephants, one hundred horses, and about fifty camels, fell into our hands; with which we returned, after destroying the enemy's camp.

In consequence of this visit, Holkar removed to a considerable distance south-west of Bhurtpoor, where he thought himself more secure; but on the second of April we renewed our experiment, the

cavalry, with the reserve and horse artillery, moving off silently about midnight, taking only one galloper for each regiment. At day-break, we had the satisfaction of coming up with the enemy, before they had time to mount their horses. The right squadrons of each regiment in the first line moved first to the charge, supported by the remaining squadrons; the second line, consisting of the eighth light dragoons, supported by the second regiment of native cavalry, charged Meer Khan's party to the right; while the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth (late the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth) light dragoons, supported by the first regiment of native cavalry, charged to the front among Holkar's horse, who were already making off. Great numbers of them were killed on the spot, and many fell during a close and vigorous pursuit of seven or eight miles.

The enemy on this occasion lost several camels, with the whole of the bazaars; and numbers of the troops seeing the cause hopeless, went off in bodies, thus leaving Holkar to his fate. The condition of this vaunting depredator was, indeed, wretched enough; and he, who at the beginning of the campaign threatened to annihilate the British dominion in Hindoostan, was now literally destitute of an habitation and a refuge. Abandoned by his associates, his army ruined, his artillery taken, and Chandore and Gaulnah, the fortresses of his family, in our hands, the boasting freebooter, who expected to have reigned paramount over the empire, was driven to the abject state of a wandering fugitive, being obliged to cross the Chumbul with a body of about eight thousand horse, four or five thousand infantry, and twenty or thirty guns, the miserable remnants of a large and formidable army. His loss in this affair amounted to full one thousand

slain in the field; while our's was no more than two killed and several wounded, besides horses. The pursuit, and the ground over which we passed this day before we returned to camp, exceeded fifty miles, and that on roads full of holes, which proved very dangerous to our horses and their riders. Fortunately, however, fewer accidents occurred than might have been expected from the nature of the country. The two most serious injuries sustained were by Major Salkeld, deputy-quarter-master-general, and his assistant, Captain Covell, both of whom had their collar bones fractured.

In our return home, we made a complete circuit round Bhurtpoor, near which place we fell in with a small party of Alyghools, of the Rohilla or Patan tribe, who in the decline and retreat of Meer Khan quitted his service, and entered into that of Runjeet Sing. These were met by the flankers of the eighth dragoons, near the edge of the Jungle, when, after losing five or six of their men, the rest, to the number of eighty-seven, surrendered themselves with their standards.

The fort of Bhurtpoor fired two forty-pound shot at our column as we marched along, as it were to shew us our distance, but both passed over our line without doing any injury.

On the eighth, the army changed ground, marching round, and taking up its encampment nearly in the same place as before occupied, south-eastward of the town; a manœuvre that seems to have had the effect of accelerating the conclusion of the treaty. The day following, accounts arrived in camp of the success obtained on the seventh instant at Ahmed Nugger, by Captain Royal, over three thousand of the remaining infantry of Holkar, commanded by Koosial Rao, who was completely defeated, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, which were

all that his principal chief possessed out of the numerous train by him originally brought into the field. According to this account, Captain Royal marched from Agra on the twenty-sixth of March, with the first battalion of the twenty-fifth native regiment, six companies of the twenty-fourth, a battalion of irregulars, and Pohlman's horse. On the thirty-first, between Baree and Dholpore, he fell in with Bapojee's cavalry, whom he drove off; and on the morning of the seventh instant attacked the enemy, who were strongly posted under the fortified town of Ahmed Nugger, having their flanks protected by deep ravines. Captain Royal instantly made his dispositions for the attack; and his party rushing in with charged bayonets, drove the enemy from their guns; after which Colonel Pohlman, with the Agra horse, pursued the fugitives for five coss, and cut up a considerable number of them. Three guns and six tumbrils fell into our hands, together with the baggage. Our loss was fifty killed and wounded, among which last was Lieutenant Carrington, who lost his leg.

At the time when this intelligence arrived, the army was shifting its ground to the other side of Bhurtpoor, which, leading the rajah to dread the renewal of vigorous operations against his fortress, and the probability of our attempting to carry it by a coup de main the same night, before measures could be taken to put that side in a state of adequate defence, induced him to hasten the conclusion of the treaty, the preliminaries of which were signed on the tenth; and the next evening, his third son came to the camp as a hostage, for arranging the definitive terms. He was received by Colonel Lake, the son of the commander-in-chief, who went out to conduct him to head-quarters, where two tents were pitched for his accommodation. The

prince, who appeared to be about twenty-five years of age, was clothed in a plain white dress, and attended by a small suite.

All hostilities being now at an end, the battering guns, and other apparatus for besieging, were sent back to Agra, with the sick and wounded, on the morning of the twelfth, under an escort of three battalions of the Bengal army, one battalion from the Bombay division, and three hundred irregular horse, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson.

This day, several camels and elephants were taken from the foraging party by the Pindarrees; and as nine troopers of the fourth native regiment were also missing, it was supposed that they were killed by those depredators.

There being few difficulties of moment to surmount in the negotiation for peace, the treaty was soon brought to a conclusion; and a few days after the arrival of the rajah's son in our camp, Mr. Mercer went with it to Bhurtpoor, that it might receive a formal ratification in the signature of the chief. The terms of the treaty were to the following effect:

The fortress of Deeg to remain in our hands till the government should be assured of the rajah's fidelity, who pledged himself never to hold any correspondence, or have any connexion with the enemies of Great Britain; nor to entertain, without its sanction, any European in his service. He further agreed to pay the company twenty lacs of rupees, of which three were to be advanced immediately; and as a security for the due execution of these terms, he consented to deliver one of his sons as a hostage, to reside constantly with the commanding officer of the British forces on the soubahs of Delhi or Agra.

Previously to our leaving Bhurtpoor, a valuable convoy of provisions and stores from Guzerat, with treasure to a large amount, for the use of the Bombay army, marched into our camp under Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, without having experienced any material interruption in this long march.

On the twenty-first of April, 1805, the united British force broke up from before Bhurtpoor, after lying there three months and twenty days. We marched in two columns, the left formed by the Bengal infantry, headed by the first brigade of cavalry; and the right by the Bombay division, headed by the second brigade of cavalry; the baggage being in the centre. A regiment of native cavalry and the reserve formed the advance; as the picquets and irregular horse did the rear guard. After marching about eight miles in a southerly direction, we were rejoined by Colonel Simpson's detachment from Agra, with thirty thousand bullocks carrying grain.

These troops, in passing Futtypore, obtained leave to plunder that town, by way of retribution for the scandalous treatment which they received there the preceding year, when retreating with the rest of the unfortunate detachment under Colonel Monson.

On the twenty-second, the army, after encamping at Gossamy, marched in the same order, and about the same distance, accompanied by the rajah's son, whose retinue consisted of several state elephants and camels, a small body of horse, and a party of infantry, many of whom wore the jackets and other clothes of our men who fell before Bhurtpoor. This day we encamped at Canvaah, from whence, on the twenty-third, we marched about four miles to Rubas.

On the twenty-fourth, the army, after marching about seven miles, encamped in two lines between the hills, and close to Nahmada, a

small village built upon a rocky eminence. The next day we marched in a southerly direction about ten miles, after the first four of which we cleared the hills, and passed Kittery, a small brick-built town of some note, on the road to Dholpore. Throughout this march we found abundance of water and forage.

On the twenty-sixth we reached Parbutty, about eight miles from Dholpore. The ground over which we passed in the first part of this day's march was very good, but the remainder was so broken that the troops were obliged to go by single files till we reached the Nullah. The country, however, appeared very open and well cultivated.

We marched on the twenty-seventh to Dholpore; and the day following halted on a fine plain, within a mile of the Chumbul, till a road could be made for the passage of the troops, the one which had been previously cut across, though very good, being so narrow as to admit only of one carriage at a time, so that an army in going by it must necessarily be seriously delayed while fording the river at this place. Immense ravines extend along the sides of the Chumbul for many miles; but the country, till very close to Dholpore, is well cultivated. There is a remarkable conical hill here, with a tomb and other buildings on the top, surrounded by a stone wall, where the aumeel, or collector, has taken up his residence ever since the company gained possession of the place, which is included in the district of Agra.

At five o'clock in the morning of the twenty-ninth, the horse artillery and reserve marched with the commander-in-chief to the ford; but though the direct distance does not exceed two miles, it took us more than six along the winding road, amidst the ravines; after passing which, we encamped in the bed of the river, on the sands opposite the fords. This day three Europeans who went to bathe in the stream

were drowned. The Chumbul, which is a river of considerable magnitude, takes its rise in the centrical parts of the Rathore mountains, in the heart of the province of Malwa, and within fifteen miles of the Nerbudda; and pursuing a north-easterly direction, after traversing some of the most fertile parts of Hindoostan, discharges itself into the Jumna on the confines of Binde, twenty miles below Etawah, making the whole length of its course about four hundred and forty miles.

On the thirtieth, this division of the army crossed the river at two fords; and after a long circuitous route through the ravines, joined Colonel Martindale at Jettore, a small village eight miles S. S. E. of the Chumbul. The encampment was on extreme broken ground, in order to have the benefit of the water from a nullah which runs under Jettore and the adjacent ravines. The left wing of the army, under Major-General Dowdeswell, marched to the same ground which we had left, and having crossed the river, the next day rejoined our camp.

Colonel Martindale had with him five battalions of sepoys, two squadrons of the fifth native cavalry, three troops of the governor-general's body guard, Colonel Shepherd's five battalions, and as many more belonging to a native chief, who came over to us from the service of Ambajee, with twenty guns and an irregular body of horse. The colonel with this force arrived here on the fifth of April from Bundelcund, following and watching Scindiah; who, after the reduction of Saugur, marched at the head of a very large army, and a numerous train of artillery, towards the British frontier on the Chumbul. No doubt could be entertained that Scindiah was encouraged to adopt this course by our failures before Bhurtpoor, which he imagined presented a favourable opportunity for the recovery of his lost power, by the organization of another Mahratta confederacy. His treachery,

indeed, had been made apparent before, in an intercepted letter, written by him to the Rajah of Bhurtpoor during the siege, spiriting him up to hold out, with the assurance that he was hastening to his assistance. Under the same mistaken idea, that the British power might now be opposed with impunity, Scindiah ventured to set up pretensions to the fortress of Gwalior; and he completed these acts of wanton aggression, by forcibly detaining Mr. Jenkins, the acting resident, upon whose camp equipage and other baggage depredations were committed without redress. Lord Lake, on receiving information of these outrages, demanded the release of the resident, threatening Scindiah with the commencement of hostilities in case of his refusal; but even this remonstrance failed in producing any effect upon this turbulent character.

When Colonel Martindale took up his strong position among the ravines near the Chumbul, Scindiah lay encamped at Saubulghur, about sixteen coss from thence; but upon hearing of the approach of the commander-in-chief at the head of such a formidable army, he went off in the direction of Kotta with the rest of the confederate chiefs; several of whom, however, prudently abandoned him soon after, and came over to our camp. Among these deserters, was the Buckshee of Jeswunt Row Holkar, who joined us during our stay at Jettore.

Though this person had lost both his hands by a gun-shot in a former action with us, he still continued in active employment; and his defection was followed by that of many others, so that Lord Lake's army was thereby swelled to the number of thirty thousand fighting men, which, with the camp followers, made an aggregate of three hundred thousand people assembled together on the barren rocks and sand-banks of the Chumbul. The following statement will shew the composition of this miscellaneous and extraordinary force.

Strength, in round Numbers, of the effective fighting Men present with the Army at the above period.

	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.	Total of each Division.	Grand Total.
Bengal Army.					
Infantry.					
First Brigade	250	500	750		
Second ditto	400	1400	1800		
Third ditto	190	1100	1290		
Fourth ditto	....	1200	1200		
Reserve	50	1550	1600		
	890	5750	6640	6640	
Artillery	150	350	450	450	
Cavalry.					
First Brigade	450	1100	1550		
Second ditto	520	780	1300		
	970	1880	2850	2850	
Horse Artillery	50	....	....	50	
					9990
Bombay Division.					
Infantry and Artillery	600	4200			
Troop of Cavalry	....	120			
			4920	....	
Guzerat Horse	...	....	1000		5920
Rana of Gohud's Subsidiary Force.					
Infantry and Artillery	40	2400	2440	....	2440
Bundelcund Detachment.					
Infantry and Artillery	90	4000	4090		
Body Guard, and 5th Native Cavalry	....	....	510		
				4600	
Shepherd's Corps.	Muskets.	Nightbks.	Allyghdrs.		
Horse 200....Goolendars 80	1000	1200	700	3180	
Ferrat Ally.					
Horse 50....Goolendars 70	300	1500	....	1920	
					9700
Irregular Horse.					
Macherry Rajah's	400				
Patan	400	.....			1950
Ismael Beg's	350				
Several Chiefs, deserted from Holkar	800				
				GRAND TOTAL....	30000

On the third of May, the Commander-in-chief inspected the Bundelcund army; at whose appearance and discipline he expressed great satisfaction, in public thanks to Colonel Martindale. His lordship was also pleased, at the same time, to signify his approbation of the high state of the corps, both regulars and irregulars, commanded by Colonel Shepherd, who received the same flattering mark of distinction.

On the seventh his Excellency was visited by the ranah of Gohud; which compliment was returned the following day, at the camp of that chief; when an incident occurred, which had a very agreeable effect upon those who were present, and was well calculated to cement the amity subsisting between the British government and that state. The ranah, on this occasion, was accompanied by his son, who was about four or five years old, and of whom the general, as he sat in the state chair, took particular notice, by placing him on his knee, and caressing him; at which the child appeared quite delighted, and played with the buttons on his lordship's coat, till at length he fell asleep. The ranah and his retinue were highly pleased with this act of condescension, and considered the tranquil sleep of the child in the general's lap as a happy omen of the security and repose which their country would enjoy under the protection of the British government.

During these interviews, a subsidiary treaty was settled between the ranah and the East-India Company; by which the former agreed to retain in his pay a military force, consisting of three battaljons of sepoys.

The first separation of the several divisions of the army took place

on the morning of the tenth; when that of Bombay, under the command of General Jones, took the route towards Rampoorah. On the fifteenth an unpleasant occurrence took place, between the inhabitants of a small ghurry, about six coss from camp, and one of our foraging parties. The villagers, to the number of several hundreds, being determined to defend their forage, drew up on the plain, armed with swords, spears, and shields, which hostile appearance and desperate stand made by these infatuated peasants brought on a sharp conflict; and it was not till after suffering a severe loss from our grape-shot, that they retired to the ghurry, leaving their habitations and forage at our mercy.

On the morning of the twentieth, the Bundelcund army, under Colonel Martindale, began their march towards Gwalior; and the next day the quarter-masters of the native corps were ordered off to Mutra and Agra to construct temporary buildings for their respective regiments.

At length the long-expected and wished-for 26th of May arrived, when we were to leave Jettore; and accordingly the cavalry and reserve, under the commander-in-chief, marched back across the Chumbul, and encamped in the bed of the river, to be less exposed to the hot winds, which we had been forced to endure in all their burning violence for the last two months. Lieutenant-Colonel Bowyer's detachment was ordered to march at the same time for Gohud, the place of its destination, while the left wing of the army, under General Dowdeswell, received instructions to follow us the day after.

On the twenty-seventh we rejoined the right wing, under Major-General Smith, at Dholpore, where the left wing arrived the next day,

and the whole army halted till the morning of the thirty-first, when we proceeded on our course, encamping, after a march of nine miles, at Muneah, a large town on the road to Agra, and in the midst of an open country.

On the first of June the army continued its march, and about seven miles from Muneah crossed a nullah, over which is a long stone bridge of many arches, with a large serai adjoining to it, in good repair, for the accommodation of travellers. Three miles further we arrived at Poora, a considerable town, and in good condition; but water was scarce, and there were few signs of cultivation. Here the army halted the next day, and encamped in separate divisions, according to their respective destinations. That destined for Agra and its neighbourhood was commanded by General Dowdeswell, and consisted of the three dragoon regiments and horse artillery; the first and fourth native cavalry; the park, the second regiment, the second battalion of the ninth, and the second battalion of the twenty-second regiment of native infantry. The remainder, with the commander-in-chief, were to be quartered at Mutra and its vicinity.

On the third, Major-General Dowdeswell encamped nine miles from Agra: and the following day, the eighth, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth light dragoons, with the horse artillery, encamped at Secundra, there to remain during the rainy season. The other corps proceeded to Agra, while his Majesty's seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth regiments, with the Company's Europeans, were stationed at Futtypore, under Colonel Monson; and the rest marched on to Mutra, with Major-General Smith. Thus was the whole army kept on the west side of the Jumna, ready to move at a moment's warning, and to co-operate in any exigency.

CHAPTER XXII.

Quarters in the Tomb of Akbar.—Changes in the Government of India.—Death of Marquis Cornwallis.—Re-appearance of Holkar.—Pursued by Lord Lake.—Sovereignty of George Thomas.—Panniput.—Pattealah.—Sandy Desert.—Junction with Colonel Burn.—Ludheana.—Passage of the Sutledge.—March through the Punjab.—British Standard erected on the Banks of the Hyphasis.—Himalaya Mountains—Account of the Seiks.—Holkar sues for Peace.—Treaty with Scindiah.—Grand Review.—Deception of Holkar.—Termination of the War near the Altars of Alexander.—Return of the Army.—Military Tactics of the Seiks.—Extent of our Indian Possessions.—Sources of the principal Rivers.—Arrival at Sirhind.—Tanassar.—Azimabad.—Carnaul.—Arrival at Delhi.—Separation of the Army.—Lord Lake returns to England.—His Death, and Character.

While one part of the British forces found shelter from the rainy monsoon, in the splendid but decayed palaces of the great Akbar at Futtypore Sicree, the favourite residence of his empress; another part, amidst the habitable remains of the ancient nobles of the Moguls, in and about Agra and Mutra, the eighth, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth regiments of light dragoons, with their artillery and baggage, took up their quarters in the mausoleum of that monarch at Secundra. This singular fact may serve to convey some idea of the magnitude of that celebrated tomb, which is distant from Agra about seven miles. It was built by Akbar twenty or thirty years before his death, in a pleasure-garden that had belonged to his mother, and which is still surrounded by a high wall. The principal entrance to the mausoleum is on the south side, and has a very noble appearance, consisting of

three lofty arches composed of red freestone, inlaid with mosaic, and having as many folding gates. The middle one is crowned with battlements, on which are four handsome minarets of white marble, fluted half way up, and furnished with staircases leading to the balconies, from whence the eye may range over an immense plain not less than a hundred miles in circumference; and for the most part strewed with the remains of imperial grandeur. On passing through the porch, which is ornamented with many Saracenic arches, you descend into the garden, which is at least half a mile square; and though in former days it contributed, no doubt, very much to the general beauty of the place, it was on the present occasion degraded to the ignoble purpose of providing stabling for our horses, in temporary sheds erected along the inside of the wall, while the body of the building itself was converted into barracks for our soldiers. This structure, which is of a square form, about three hundred and fifty feet each way, has four stories, that gradually diminish in size as you ascend, and having on each several turrets with cupolas; the height of the uppermost being one hundred and twenty feet from the ground.

Besides the tomb that covers the remains of Akbar, which is in the centre of the mausoleum, and is of beautiful white marble, there are on the ground floor five archways, leading into twenty different apartments, intended as the last repositories of the founder's family. In some of these lie the remains of favourite females, whose tombs are also of white marble, handsomely wrought in sculpture, with latticed arches of the same material, and mosaic pavements. On the first story, over these sepulchral apartments, is a platform corresponding with the ground floor, and having in the centre a structure two hundred

feet square, of red granite. The other stories are of a similar description, allowing for the diminution of their respective proportions, till you reach by a white marble staircase, the fourth and last, where is a fine open terrace, or pavement of granite, checquered with white and black marble; the whole enclosed by a white marble arcade, having small arches of the Saracenic order, and filled with fine lattice work. In the centre of the area, which is paved with white marble, near seventy feet square, stands a handsome cenotaph of the same stone, richly sculptured with flowers in an exquisite taste, eight feet by five, raised several feet, and placed perpendicularly over the tomb of the monarch below. The workmanship throughout is equal to the elegance of the design, and the minarets, with the cupolas supported by fluted pillars, surmounting the whole, give an airy grandeur to the edifice, worthy of the majestic tenant whose memory it serves to commemorate. Most of the British officers belonging to the corps now stationed here accommodated themselves as well as they could in the surrounding tombs of the omrahs, and principal nobility belonging to the imperial court, and who seemed, even in the grave, to wait with reverential awe upon their mighty master. These dwellings of the silent dead were now the habitations of active and lively beings, who, without offering any violence to the manes of the original occupants, indulged themselves in various festivities during this dreary season. Though the upper rooms and galleries did not overlook gardens diffusing the fragrance of Eden, watered by numerous streams, and resounding the choral notes of the songsters of the groves, they were enlivened by the presence of many beauties, whose fascinating powers might have inspired an Anchorite with cheer-

fulness, and made the most rigid Mussulman forget the houris of Paradise.

While military operations were thus suspended during the monsoon, a change took place in the government of Bengal, by the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, to whom the Marquis Wellesley resigned his authority, and returned to England, followed by the ardent esteem and gratitude of all British India, where the benefits derived from his vigorous administration were too sensibly felt not to make every patriotic mind regret his departure.

The venerable successor of his lordship did not long survive his resumption of a station, which some years before he had filled with such distinguished glory. His health had been for some time in a declining state, and his re-appointment was not calculated to invigorate an impaired constitution. Lord Cornwallis found our eastern empire settling upon an enlarged and durable foundation, which only wanted a continuance of the same policy to render it a permanent security to the common and individual interests of natives and Europeans; but unfortunately different ideas prevailed on this subject in the two hemispheres; and what experience proved in India to be absolutely necessary to our political salvation, was regarded in England as caprice and ambition. Lord Cornwallis, whose former government shewed that without power peace can never be of long duration, now came out shackled by injunctions, and, as it should seem, restrained from following even his own judgment.

What might be the impression made by the actual observation of things on his mind, it would be presumptuous to conjecture; but there is reason to suppose, that the sensibility of such a man must

have been much affected by the peculiarity of the circumstances under which he was placed; and this surmise is strengthened by the fact, that his death occurred within three months after his landing. This melancholy event happened on the fifth of October, 1805, at Gazipoor, near Benares, at which place the remains of this illustrious character are entombed, agreeable to his own declaration, that "where the tree fell, there it should lie."

On the demise of Lord Cornwallis, the government devolved, by provisional appointment, upon Sir George Barlow; when a system of administration was adopted, which differed widely from what had been lately pursued, as well as from the views entertained by his Excellency Lord Lake, for the establishment of the British empire in India upon an immoveable basis. These views were not the fanciful conclusions of an understanding influenced by prejudice, but the results of local observation and laborious experience, during the operations against the restless Mahrattas, whom he had succeeded in expelling from Hindoostan, and on the total exclusion of whose means of annoyance he was convinced the security of all our possessions depended. The knowledge which his lordship had of the character of these people, and of the hollowness of all treaties formed by them, made him sensible that neither the British territories in India, nor those of the minor states, could be safe without the presence of a strong protecting force, to keep Scindiah from forming a dangerous, if not an overwhelming power out of their ruins. At this time, however, an opposite line of conduct was deemed adviseable; and under the denomination of a pacific spirit, large and impolitic

concessions to a faithless chief were contemplated; and among the rest, the important post of Gwalior and a part of Gohud.

Such was the painful situation of Lord Lake, who had, of course, a most difficult part to perform, after the departure of the Marquis Wellesley, in observing a system that militated so strongly against the sense which he had of what was requisite for the welfare of the state and the honour of the nation, whose engagements with the native powers were in danger of being violated. His promptitude, however, quickly effected what could not have been accomplished without trouble, by a neutral and vacillating policy. While at Mutra, his lordship wrote to Scindiah, in the middle of July; and after remonstrating in strong terms on the forcible detention of Mr. Jenkins, and the plunder of his property, in contravention of an express treaty, he peremptorily demanded the release and safe conduct of the British resident to his camp, as an indispensable preliminary to the renewal of an amicable intercourse, and the prevention of hostilities. This firmness had the desired effect, and was followed by the adjustment of all the existing differences between Scindiah and our government.

In the mean time, Jeswunt Row Holkar, who, after his flight from Hindoostan, retreated into the Joodpore and Rajepoot country, had succeeded in collecting some artillery and a number of followers, with the determination of marching to the northward, in search of plunder and conquest. According to his own phraseology, he was now destitute of any other estate or property than what he carried upon the saddle of his horse; and therefore, as an adventurer, he was resolved to seek both, either among friends or enemies. After eluding the

division of Major-General Jones, who marched from Rampoorah, to intercept him on his line of route; and that of Colonel Ball, in the Rewary hills, Holkar proceeded through the provinces to the north-west of Delhi, at the head of a numerous rabble, and having with him sixty pieces of cannon, of which last, though half were unserviceable, they were calculated to impress awe upon the Seiks, into whose country he now entered. Lord Lake, upon this, judged it expedient to put the British force instantly in motion, to prevent the Seiks from declaring for the Mahratta chieftain, or, in case they should already have done so, to destroy, in the bud, the new coalition. Accordingly, the troops stationed at Agra and Secundra marched towards Mutra, on the tenth of October; while a strong detachment, consisting of the tenth regiment, and the first battalions of the twenty-second and fourth regiments of native infantry, with a proportion of artillery, under the command of Major-General Dowdeswell, was ordered to Sehrunpoor, for the protection of the northern part of the Dooab. Lord Lake himself marched towards Delhi on the twenty-eighth, with the remaining corps, formed in brigades, as follows:

Cavalry.

6th Nat. Cav. H. M. 25th Drgs. H. M. 24th Drgs. 3rd Nat. Cav. H. M. 8th Drgs.

1st Brigade.
Brigadier General Need commanding.

2nd Brigade.
Brigadier General Wood commanding.

Reserve.

1st B. 9th Nat. I. 1st B. 11th Nat. I. Company's European Regt. H. M. 22nd Foot.

Brigadier General Mercer commanding.

Park.
Captain Pennington.

Horse Artillery.
Captain Brown.

On the twenty-ninth, we met the British garrison of Deeg, at Chattah, after their evacuation of that fortress, which was restored to the Bhurtpoor rajah; and continuing our route, we arrived on the seventh of November at Delhi; in the afternoon of which day Lord Lake paid a visit to the emperor, attended by his staff, and all the brigadiers in camp.

The day following, the army continued its march to the northward, moving by easy stages to Tarpohah, Allipore, Beronteka Serai, and on the eleventh, to Souniput, a small town, thirty miles north-west from Delhi. The whole of this country, which was formerly fertilized by a canal dug by Ali Merdan Khan, is now overgrown with jungle, and is generally in a very desolate state. Souniput belonged to the lately established but short-lived principality of George Thomas, a native of Ireland, who, in the year 1782, came to India, in the situation of a boatswain on board of a ship of war. This singular man, whose adventures have a romantic cast, after residing some years with the Polygars, and traversing the whole peninsula of India, entered into the service of the Begum Somroo, who, perceiving his talents, gave him at length the command of her troops. But through the influence of his enemies, he lost her favour; on which, he went over to Appakanda Row, a Mahratta chieftain, by whom he was readily employed, and who afterwards, in consideration of his fidelity and valour, adopted him as his son, with a considerable grant of lands in the Mewattie district. Mr. Thomas, however, had still to struggle with the machinations of his secret enemies; but the energy of his character gained him a complete triumph; and of his generosity, he gave a striking proof, in saving the life of his former mistress, the

Begum, and restoring her to the musnud, after she had been dethroned by her step-son.

The fame of our adventurer received additional lustre from his exploits against the Seiks; in consequence of which the Mahratta states, who considered him as their bulwark on the side of these marauders, conferred on him the districts of Souniput, Panniput, and Carnawl, yielding a revenue of ten lacs of rupees, for the support of two thousand infantry, and sixteen pieces of cannon. Having thus obtained the distinction of a chieftain, George Thomas formed the solution of founding an independent sovereignty upon an extensive scale in the country of Hurrianah, which had been for many years without any fixed authority. In this object he succeeded; and after an arduous contest with the Rajah of Patteelah, and other chiefs of the Seiks, he established his power as far as the river Caugger, and fixed his residence at Hansy, about ninety miles north-west of Delhi. Intending this place for the capital of his newly-acquired dominions, of which it was the centre, he repaired the fortifications, and gave considerable encouragements to strangers to induce them to become settlers. He also formed a mint; and wisely judging that force of arms alone could maintain him in the principality which he had founded, he made the best preparations for carrying on offensive and defensive war, by manufacturing muskets, matchlocks, and gunpowder. By these means, and a prudent exercise of his power, combined with unremitting activity, he gave to his territory a consolidation which promised such an extension of empire and civilization, as would have immortalized his name, had the enlarged views which he entertained been carried into effect.

One favourable object with him, after settling his capital, and securing his estates, was that of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and having the honour of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock. But this patriotic ambition he was unable to gratify; for though in a manner unparalleled, he had, without any foreign assistance, and in the front of a vigorous opposition, maintained his little sovereignty from the year 1798 to the close of 1801, his enemies increased; and, through the treachery of his own officers, instigated by the French, they succeeded in undermining his authority, so that he was compelled to seek an asylum in the territories of his natural sovereign, where, on the twenty-second of August, 1802, in the prime of life, he closed his eventful and romantic career on his way to Calcutta. His death was much regretted by those who knew him, on account of the amiable private virtues which he possessed, no less than for the vigorous energy of his character, and his unshaken loyalty, of which last he gave a striking proof, when, in tendering his dominions and conquests to his country, he said: "I wish to give them to my king, and to serve him the remainder of my days, which I can only do as a soldier in this part of the world."

From this historic sketch of a remarkable person, who in a remoter age might have ranked with Lycurgus, Numa Pompilius, or Manco Capac, we must now turn to the progress of our army in quest of an adventurer of a different description. After a halt of three days near Gonour, on the seventeenth of November we reached Panniput, distant fifty-nine miles north-west from Delhi, and famous only for the number of battles fought in its neighbourhood. The last remarkable one was in the year 1761, between the Musulmans,

under Ahmed Shah, the Abdalli, Sovereign of Cabul, and the combined Mahrattas, which ended after a most obstinate conflict in the total defeat of the latter, who lost their whole army, with two hundred pieces of artillery, and their camp equipage of every kind. Of five hundred thousand souls, including women and children, who were in the field with the Mahrattas, very few escaped alive: and the bigotted victors carried their ferocious spirit so far as to murder their helpless prisoners in cold blood; for which they alleged this excuse, that when they left their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives, desired them, whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, to kill a few of them on their account, that they also might obtain merit in the sight of God. In this manner thousands were destroyed, and the camp of the conquerors after the battle exhibited the shocking spectacle of heaps of human heads piled up before the doors of the tents.

On this occasion the flower of the Mahratta chiefs fell, among whom were Sadasiva Row Bhow, the actual general, and Biswas Row, the eldest son of the Paishwah Bala Row, who, as such, though but seventeen years of age, was the nominal commander-in-chief. When the body of this youth was brought to the tent of Shah Ahmed, the whole of the camp thronged to see it, every one expressing his admiration at the beauty of the appearance; till at length some of the infuriated tribe exclaimed: "This is the body of the king of the unbelievers: we will have it dried and stuffed, that it may be carried home to Cabul." But this barbarity was prevented by the interposition of Shujah ul Dowlah, Nawaub of Oude, who represented to the Shah that enmity should be carried no further than death; on which the body was ordered to be burnt, together with that of the general,

Sadasiva Row, which was found under a heap of slain, and recognized, says a writer who was in the battle, by many curious marks.

The town of Panniput, which was once a place of great consequence, covering the space of twenty-four miles, is now in a decayed condition; and has nothing worthy of observation within its ruinous walls except the tomb of a Mahommedan saint, or Kalindar, named Boo Ally.

Pursuing our route by Chourah, we came on the twentieth to Carnawl, the northern boundary of the district of Delhi, and bordering on the Seik dominions, into which we were now entering; and passing by Azimabad and Tamassar, we came on the twenty-third to the Sursooty river, which we crossed over a fine stone bridge at a little neat town named Phoait. The next day the army encamped one hundred and fifty-four miles from Delhi, near Pattealah, or Pattyalaya, the capital of the Seik chief of this part of the country. This town, which is the most flourishing in the district of Sirhind, is surrounded by a strong mud-wall, and has within side a square citadel, the residence of the rajah; which chief, in a visit to our camp, informed Lord Lake that Holkar had endeavoured, without effect, to prevail on the Seiks in these parts either to join him with their forces, or to supply him with money. The indifferent reception which he met with, however, was owing, no doubt, to the precipitancy of his movements, in consequence of our close pursuit, which obliged him to make the best of his way for the Sutledge; in crossing which river lay his only chance of security.

After halting on the twenty-seventh at Nabeh, which is a very pretty town, we came the day following to Amirghur; thus marching nearly in the tract of Peer Mahmoud, the general of Timur Khan,

and on the skirts of the great sandy desert, which stretches from the shores of the Indus to within one hundred miles of Delhi. On our left appeared sand hills in endless succession, like the waves of the ocean, desolate and dreary to an immense extent, and scantily interspersed with the Baubool, or *Mimosa Arabica*; while to the front and right of these immense wastes, the eye was deceived by those illusions, so frequent on the wild plains of Africa and Asia, known by the French term of "mirage," and in Persian, "Sirraub." These optical deceptions exhibited the representations of spacious lakes and rivers, with trees and other objects, in such a lively manner as almost to cheat the senses of persons familiarly acquainted with the phenomenon; while they who were oppressed by excessive heat and parched with thirst, cheered themselves in the hope of being soon refreshed with water from the friendly tank or cooling stream, of which they thought they had so clear a prospect. Often were we thus agitated between expectancy and disappointment, flattering our imaginations with a speedy indulgence; when just as the delightful vision appeared on the point of being realized, like the cup of Tantalus, the whole vanished, and left us nothing to rest upon but arid plains of glittering and burning sands.

On the twenty-ninth we formed at Rawseanah a junction with Colonel Burn's detachment, consisting of four battalions of sepoys, two Tallinkas, and one of Nujeebs, besides Skinner's and Murray's independent cavalry. This force had been despatched some time before from Panniput, with the view of seizing the guns of Holkar, or of cutting off his retreat in the event of his attempting to get back by the way of the desert, on being prevented from crossing the Sutledge.

The commander-in-chief having inspected these troops, and ex-

pressed his satisfaction at their appearance, re-inforced his own little army with the two bodies of independent cavalry, and three of the sepoy corps; the second battalion of the fourteenth; the first battalion of the twenty-first; and the second battalion of the seventeenth regiments, forming the second brigade under Colonel Burn; while the first battalion of the twenty-fourth native infantry, with the two Tallinka battalions, and one of Nujeebs, were detached for the protection of our supplies.

On the second of December, we reached Ludheana, situated on an outlet of the Sutledge, which here forms an island; but the town itself had been deserted on our approach. After halting here two days, we proceeded on the fifth to the banks of that river, the ancient Hesudrus, and immediately a battalion of sepoys crossed over in boats, to secure the Ghaut, or ford, for the passage of the rest of the army, the whole of whom, with the exception of two other battalions of sepoys, who were left in charge of the baggage and carts, followed the next morning; the river here being about breast deep, and its breadth near a mile from bank to bank. After passing the night close to Keraiah, a walled town on the north side, we continued our pursuit on the seventh through the Punjab or the country of the five rivers, the fields of which were now in the richest state of cultivation, abounding on all sides with wheat, barley, rice, Indian corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and the various esculent vegetables of Europe. We also passed in our route mulberry, walnut, chesnut, and apple trees.

During our march, the most scrupulous regard was paid to the property of the inhabitants, as well that which was exposed, as that which they had in their dwellings; and where any injury happened un-

avoidably to be committed, a liberal compensation in money soon prevented complaint, or restored confidence.

Thus our route through this remote part of India, and amongst a people naturally fierce and jealous, was pursued not only without opposition, but with cordiality on both sides. As all supplies were punctually paid for, we wanted nothing that the country could produce; which accommodating reciprocation begat a cheerful intercourse, that increased as we proceeded. The general satisfaction we felt at the conduct of the Seiks was heightened by the report of this day, that Holkar had been disappointed in his attempt to cross the Beyah river, which gave us hopes that the capture of his guns at least would now reward our laborious exertions. After a very long march we encamped, with orders to be ready at a moment's notice, at Jumshire, on the Bine rivulet; where we passed a very disagreeable night. The rain poured down in torrents, accompanied with thunder and lightning: in the midst of which confusion of the elements, a number of horses belonging to the cavalry broke loose from their picquets, galloping about with the utmost fury after the mare ponies through the bazaars, where they attacked, like tigers, all persons indiscriminately; so that several persons lost their lives, and others received serious injury from these vicious animals of the Jungle Tawsey breed. The alarm thus excited was aggravated by rumours that enemies were approaching, which made us all hail the dawn of the morning with gladness, when we resumed our march, and after passing Jallindar, a large and populous town, about midway between the Sutledge and Beyah, we reached the banks of the Caly rivulet. Here a party of Skinner's horse was detached in advance to the

Beyah, where they arrived just time enough to have a glimpse of Holkar's rear-guard; the whole army of that chief having passed the river the preceding day.

A spectacle of lively nterest was exhibited on the ninth of December, when the British standard waved with majestic dignity on the banks of the Beyah, the ancient Hyphasis, opposite the Rajpoor Gaut; which impressive scene was heightened in effect by the picturesque view that presented itself to the multitude of admiring observers. In the extreme distance from north to east arose the snowy ridge of old Imaus, or the modern Himalaya mountains, whose loftiest peak, Dhawala-giri, exceeds Chimboraço, the highest of the Andes by more than six thousand feet. The fleecy softness of this faint and irregular outline appeared to great advantage, in resting upon immense masses of nearer elevations, whose rocky eminences in chaotic confusion were most beautifully contrasted with pine-clad hills, still closer to the view, and these again relieved to the eye by the prospect of a fine undulating country of hill and dale, covered with luxuriant vegetation, and enlivened by numerous villages, temples, and ruins, to the extent of thirty miles, bounded by the noble river, which, flowing in majestic grandeur immediately before us, brought to our recollection that we were standing, as it were, upon classic ground.

Holkar at this time lay encamped at Amrutsir, at about an equal distance from our camp and Lahore, the capital of the Seiks on the ancient Hydraotes, now the Rauvee river.

Amrutsir, or Ambertsir, which signifies the water of immortality, derives its name from a famous tank or reservoir at this place, and is farther noted for the tomb of the celebrated Nauik Shah, the founder of

the Seik nation. He was a Hindoo of the military tribe; but being of a contemplative disposition, he devoted himself when young to the most austere exercises of his religion; till at length his mind beginning to waver between Brahminism and Islamism, his doubts ended in a resolution to attempt something like a reconciliation of the two systems, and the formation of a new sect, consisting of proselytes from both persuasions. The design was bold; and considering the superstition of the Hindoos, and the bigotry of the Mohammedans, it would almost appear to have been an impracticable one; but the reformer succeeded to a degree little, if at all, inferior to that which marked the early course of the prophet of Arabia, which was the more extraordinary, considering the terms he required of converts; those laid upon Mussulmans being the renunciation of circumcision, and the eating of swine's flesh; while the prejudices of the Hindoos, on the other hand, were shocked by the abolition of the distinction of casts, and the adoption of every kind of animal food except that of cows. Nanick affected also the sacred and legislative character, by drawing up articles of belief, and a code of laws for his followers: the former he reduced to the simplest principles of theism, in admitting the unity of the divine essence, and a future state of rewards and punishments; the latter inculcating universal philanthropy, in the exercise of hospitality to strangers, and the forbearance from all injuries against each other. This creed and body of precepts Nanick reduced into verse, for more easy remembrance, and familiar instruction of his disciples, who regard the work as sacred, by the title of "Goorrunt," and the author as a person gifted with inspiration. The name Seik signifies, imperatively, "to

learn;" and being the first word of each commandment in their scriptures, it became the characteristic appellation of every new convert. For some years these people were looked upon as mere harmless devotees, from whose increase no danger was to be apprehended; but, towards the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, their numbers and strength emboldened them to wage war against the imperial armies, in which they were often successful.

In proportion as the Mogul state declined, the Seiks advanced both in power and enterprize; and availing themselves of the disturbances which prevailed in the reign of Ahmed Shah, they conquered the whole of the Punjab, and pushed their arms almost to the gates of Delhi. At a more recent period they excited some alarm in the British government; but fortunately the want of union between their several chiefs prevented such a co-operation as might have rendered them formidable enemies. Of the weakness arising from this discordance the proof was apparent, in the rapidity with which Holkar and his pursuers passed through their country, which both parties found unprepared for resistance.

It is probable, however, that Holkar had received some assurances of succour from the Seiks before he ventured to commit himself, as it were, to their mercy; since it certainly was in their power to have harassed him very much in his flight. That no opposition was made to this fugitive chief, more than implied an inclination to favour his cause, in the hope of sharing the immense spoils of our territories; and that the Seiks did not actually join Holkar for the attainment of that object, can only be ascribed to the promptitude of Lord Lake,

in driving the Mahratta army before him quite through the heart of the Punjab, thereby impressing the inhabitants with a dread of our power, and convincing their chiefs of the folly of contending with it.

Such was the effect of our presence, that in a grand Gooroo Mata, or national council, held at Amrutsir, the assembled heads of the Seiks unanimously agreed to withhold all aid from Holkar; while at the same time, as the most effectual means of getting rid of both parties, they came to a resolution of interposing in the character of mediators. Accordingly, Futty Sing, as the vakeel of Runjeet Sing, chief of Lahore, and of the Seik confederacy, came to the British camp on the nineteenth of December, and was received with every mark of respect. The next day Bala Ram Seit, the vakeel of Holkar, being introduced in form, the conferences began, and terminated four days afterwards in a treaty on the terms dictated by Lord Lake, according to the instructions given by the supreme government, by which that chief was reinstated in dominions to which he never had any right, and which, even if he had, he deserved to have forfeited.

These pacific transactions were also distinguished by negotiations on the part of Scindiah, carried on between his vakeel the Moonshee Karul Nyne, who accompanied our army, and Colonel Malcolm, the political agent of the Company, under the immediate direction of Lord Lake, which conference also ended amicably in a treaty of alliance, confirming generally that made on the part of the British government by Sir Arthur Wellesley, at Surjee Anjengaum, but with this exception, that the Company explicitly refused to acknowledge the right of Scindiah to any claims upon Gwalior and Gohud, under the preceding treaty, though, from friendly considerations, it was agreed to cede to

him the former, and such parts of the latter territory as were described in a schedule annexed. Scindiah on the other hand relinquished all claim to pensions that had been granted to some of his officers by that treaty, to the annual amount of fifteen lacs of rupees.

After providing an indemnification for the injury done to the British resident, and stopping the pensions forfeited by Bappoo Scindiah and Sudashe Row, on account of their treacherous conduct and defection, the insulted honour of our government was further vindicated by a pledge on the part of Scindiah that he would thenceforward never admit his father-in-law, Surjee Row Gautka, to his councils. The reason for marking this man so pointedly was the fact that the violence committed upon the person and property of our resident originated with him; besides which robbery, he had been guilty of so many other flagitious acts, as to be declared a public enemy to the British government.

Though the Chumbul marked the boundary line on the north between the two states, extending from the limits of Gohud on the east, to Kotta on the west, the small and unproductive districts of Bhadeek and Soosepeerah only were ceded to the Company, as being on the banks of the Jumna, and preserving the communication between Agra and Bundelcund. On the other hand, the Company with extraordinary liberality granted Scindiah personally the annual sum of four lacs of rupees; and assigned within their territories in Hindoostan a jaghire, to the amount of two lacs more to his wife, and one lac to his daughter. The Company further engaged not to interfere with any settlement which Scindiah might make with the Rajahs of Oudepoor, Joudpoor, Kotta, or other tributary chiefs of

Malwa, Meywar, or Marwar, nor in any arrangements he might be pleased to enter into with Jeswunt Row Holkar, or his family, respecting claims to tribute or territory north of the river Taptie, and south of the Chumbul.

The ratification of this treaty arrived on the morning of the twenty-fifth of December, 1805, when two royal salutes were fired, one in celebration of the sacred and joyful event commemorated on this day, which was now for the first time announced on the banks of the Hyphasis; and the other in honour of the general peace just established throughout India.

On the last day of the year, the Seik chiefs, who had brought their camp near the river, opposite to our's, were gratified with a show of European tactics, in compliance with their repeated wishes to that effect. For this purpose a brigade of cavalry, consisting of the eighth light dragoons, and third native cavalry, with one of infantry, composed of the twenty-second regiment of foot, and two battalions of sepoys, paraded at three o'clock in the afternoon on the right of our camp, where they received Lord Lake, who was accompanied by the chiefs, with a general salute. Having passed along the line, his lordship placed himself opposite the centre, where also stood the Seiks, with Colonel Malcolm as their interpreter, mounted on elephants. The troops now began their manœuvres: the infantry, after forming into close columns of regiments, separately moved up, and deployed into line close to the reviewing party, and went through the motions of loading and firing; but there being no blank ammunition in camp, the native spectators were deprived of the effect which that mode of firing would have produced; and as they could not understand the nature

of the platoon motions, unless they saw the flash and heard the report, they were incapable of perceiving the advantages which the disciplined soldier has with his firelock over their raw matchlock men. The line next changed front, throwing back the left; which was succeeded by the square; and a general charge closed the day. The horse artillery on this occasion fired a few rounds, whilst the cavalry moved with rapidity through the intervals of the infantry up to the charge; and the instant they were halted, the guns were again heard firing in advance of the line, which produced much astonishment among the natives, who whispered to one another, "thank God that we did not go to war with the English."

After the lapse of several days, Holkar's vakeel returned; when it appeared, that instead of presenting the intended ratification of the treaty on the part of his master, he had recourse to objections and evasions; in consequence of which he was ordered to quit the camp immediately, as all intercourse was at an end. On hearing this, the ambassador pulled out a paper in the hand-writing of Holkar, instructing him to get better terms if he could, but if not to accept those which were offered. The authenticity of the document being questioned, the order was repeated, and the vakeel was told that the army would march to the Ghaut on the following day; and that if the papers were not presented duly signed within two days afterwards, the passage of the river would immediately ensue. In pursuance of this determination, the army marched down the left bank of the river to Gogorwal Ghaut, on the fifth of January; and in the afternoon of the seventh the treaty was presented to Lord Lake with great ceremony.

On the right of his lordship were seated several of the Seik chiefs, whose joy at the event was visibly marked in their countenances; and

on his left were Colonel Malcolm and the vakeels of Holkar. A silk bag was first presented, containing a letter from Holkar, expressive of his pacific disposition, the sincerity of his professions, and his desire to live in amity with the English government. After the reading of this, the treaty itself, signed and sealed by Holkar, was delivered to the general, at which instant a royal salute was fired; and his lordship, in a short speech to the ambassadors present, told them that as the British government never violated any of its engagements, the continuance of the peace would depend upon themselves.

The only cession made on the part of Holkar in this agreement that materially affected his interests, or his pride, was the total renunciation of all claim upon the districts of Tonk Rampoorah, Boondie, Lakharie, Sumeydee, Bhamungaum, Dace, and other places north of the Boondie hills. A temporary relinquishment, indeed, of the fortress of Chandore, and some other parts of the hereditary estates of Holkar in the Deccan, was stipulated; but this was no more than a conditional measure, adopted as a security for his good behaviour during the period of eighteen months. In other respects the treaty varied very little from that which had been entered into with Scindiah; and upon the whole both were much more favourable to those chiefs than they had any right to expect after the repeated aggressions which they had committed.

Holkar himself, a short time previous to this settlement, evidently despaired of ever being again restored to any part of his family estate, since, according to his own emphatic language, his whole country lay upon the bow of his saddle. Notwithstanding this, and the obvious necessity confirmed by recent experience, of abridging the power of

these restless characters, on whose good faith no reliance could be placed, Lord Lake had the mortification of seeing the only effectual bond of security which he had provided in the treaty with Holkar destroyed by Sir George Barlow, who delivered back, without any indemnification, those valuable districts which had been retained more for the protection of the petty states, who had adhered faithfully to the British government, than for our own advantage. His lordship reasoned with eloquence, and remonstrated with firmness, upon the imprudence of thus early at least relinquishing what had been so lately acquired; but his arguments and persuasions proved alike unavailing: the alliances formed with the rajah of Jeypoor, and other Rajpoot princes, were abrogated. Of these last, the most to be pitied was the Boondee Rajah, whose integrity and attachment had been displayed in a very remarkable manner, particularly during the disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson, who experienced from this loyal chief the readiest assistance, and an asylum when he was hard pressed by the ferocious Holkar.

But to return to the proceedings connected with the confirmation of the treaty:—on the day after its public delivery at our camp, Mr. Metcalf, escorted by two battalions of sepoys, proceeded to that of Holkar, where the whole army were so elated at the restoration of peace, that they celebrated it with rejoicings for several days together. Mr. Metcalf was received by the chief himself with every mark of distinction in full durbar; and all present seemed to vie in expressions of satisfaction and respect on the occasion, except Meer Khan, whose chagrin at not having been included in the negotiations, and rewarded with a jaghire, broke through the bounds of all decorum; and he actually refused to attend the durbar till he was in a manner

compelled to it by the mandate of Holkar; but even then he behaved with sullen reserve, and appeared as if meditating how he should carry into effect the declaration made by himself, upon his disappointment, that "a fly could torment an elephant."

This man arose from the situation of a common private, or Pindaree, to the command of a banditti, which, in such a perturbed country, gave him considerable advantages, so long as he could keep his people together by plunder; and by engaging in the service of those contending powers from whom most was to be obtained. During the present negotiations, he presumed, though no better than a brigand, or adventurer, to set up claims to remuneration, as an independent chief; and he even went the length of demanding his native city of Sumbul, in the province of Rohilcund; but without meeting with the slightest attention.

Meer Khan, however, has continued in the service of Holkar ever since; and on the mental derangement of that chief, occasioned by excessive drinking, he has obtained the sole management of his affairs, which he administers in the name of Holkar's wife.

At the period of these transactions, Jeswunt Row Holkar was a good-looking, lively man; and though he had but one eye, his countenance might on the whole be termed handsome. There was also a pleasantness in his manners and conversation that but ill comported with the abominable cruelties of which he was guilty to the prisoners, however wounded and helpless, whom the chance of war threw into his hands: yet this was only a part of his capricious disposition, which continually transported him to extremes; for sometimes he would assume the most stately deportment, and array himself in gorgeous

apparel, covered with pearls and diamonds; all which he as suddenly cast aside, and with only a clout round his middle, would gallop on a bare-ridged poney throughout his camp. In the same spirit he was generous to his followers, though savagely inhuman to his enemies; but neither his liberality nor his cruelty had any bounds: all was the effect of immediate impulse and passion, which of course gave a strange colour to his actions. It has been said, however, that amidst this extravagance, bordering on madness, which was heightened by the immoderate drinking of brandy, he had a mind more quick of conception and fertile in resources than any of the other Mahratta chiefs, which made him a dangerous foe, and rendered the repression of his power an indispensable measure, at a time when the British dominions in the east were perilously situated.*

The predatory system of warfare also adopted by Holkar, and the manner in which it was carried on, threatened such serious consequences to our provinces, and to the friendly states under our protection, as to call for immediate and vigorous measures to prevent the extension of the mischief. What, therefore, some men would have despised, Lord Lake judiciously considered as an incipient evil, that might be crushed in its infancy by energetic operations, but which, if neglected, would increase in strength, and become more difficult of suppression. Happily for the British interests, the promptitude with which his lordship acted in pursuing the fugitive, without allowing him any resting place, had the desired effect of preventing him from gaining such an access of auxiliary support, as would have enabled him to roll back with the impetuosity of a torrent over the plains of Hindoostan. The termination of the war, therefore, was peculiarly glo-

rious; and it received additional lustre from the consideration, that where Alexander erected twelve massy altars as the memorial of the pride of conquest, there the power of a hyperborean nation, whom he would have designated as barbarous, had, after the lapse of many ages, made the same river witness to the settlement of an honourable union, embracing the interests of the principal states in India, and laying the foundation of an enlightened system, which only requires to be followed up in the same spirit, to prove equally advantageous to the innumerable tribes scattered over this immense region, and to the great foreign power under whose fostering care alone they can keep the blessings of peace and civilization.

Having accomplished the arduous object in which it had been employed, at the distance of near three hundred miles from Delhi, and where no European force had ever before been seen, the British army began to retrace its steps on the ninth of January, 1806.

Our departure was very satisfactory to the Seiks, who, notwithstanding their friendly professions, could hardly help feeling some apprehensions for their beautiful country from the presence of a formidable army, against which they were conscious how difficult it would have been to have made any effectual stand. The military strength of these people consists chiefly of horsemen, of whom they might probably, if united, bring about one hundred thousand into the field; but the want of cordiality among the several chiefs, who are absolute in their respective districts, and the jealousy with which they view each other, must ever render them, as long as they are so discordant, too weak to disturb the general tranquillity of India. They are well mounted, expert in the use of the spear and the matchlock,

and generally allowed to be excellent marksmen. Being accompanied by several bodies of them on our march, we had frequent opportunities of observing their peculiar tactics. At one time they would come up full gallop, and making a sudden stop, fire with deliberate aim; and at another, without halting, they would, with the same quickness, take a sudden wheel round, and discharge their pieces over their right shoulders, or behind their backs, as they returned. Besides the match-lock, spear, and scimitar, which are all excellent in their kinds, some of the Seiks are armed with a very singular weapon, which they use with great and destructive effect against cavalry. It consists of a hollow circle, made of finely tempered steel, with an exceeding sharp edge, about a foot in diameter, and an inch in breadth on the inner side. This instrument the horseman poises on his fore-finger, and after giving it two or three swift motions, to accelerate its velocity, sends it from him to the distance of some hundreds of yards, the ring cutting and maiming, most dreadfully, every living object that may chance to be in its way. Rockets are also in use among these people; but their artillery is of the very worst description; and so little knowledge have they of the proper direction and management of carriage guns, that in their visits to our camp, they asked, with great simplicity, whether every ball had not its destined object, and particularly whether we had not one expressly intended for Runjeet Sing, the head of the Seik confederacy.

Though inured to predatory warfare almost from infancy, and of course habitually disposed to plunder their neighbours, the Seiks observe the greatest order at home, where their industry is manifest in the highly cultivated state of the country. In their persons they are

generally tall, erect, and of a manly open deportment; animated in their countenances, and of a very inquisitive disposition. They differ from the rest of the Hindoos in the article of dress no otherwise than by giving the preference to blue cotton cloths, and silks of the same colour. The soldiery have, however, a custom of suffering the hair of the head, as well as the beard, to grow to an immoderate length, conformably to the injunction of Gooroo Govind, one of their military priests, who flourished in the time of Aurungzebe, and who distinguished himself by giving his nation a warlike character, and changing its name from Seiks to Singh, which appellative signifying a lion, had before been exclusively appropriated by the Rajepoot tribes. So great was the fame acquired by this innovator, that while Nanick is considered as the author of their religion, the Seiks revere Gooroo Govind as the founder of their political greatness.

The climate of the Punjab is uncommonly mild; and though in the thirty-second degree of north latitude, we experienced sharp frosts during the night: the days were exceedingly delightful. Ice, which is gathered on the neighbouring hills, may here be had all the year round.

On the ninth of January, the British army marched to Burrua, and the next day passed the town of Jallindar, ninety-two miles S. E. from Lahore, and formerly a place of great magnitude, but at present almost dilapidated. Our route was now continued through an extensive Dhaka jungle to Raipoor, on the Bine rivulet, seventeen miles from our last ground; the road being for the most part a deep sand, and narrow; the country open, and partially cultivated.

After halting a day, we proceeded to Phogwara, a walled village; and on the thirteenth to Keranaghaut, on the Sutledge, where we rested five days, during which we enjoyed much sport in hunting tigers, of whom several were killed not far from the camp.

On the eighteenth we re-crossed the Sutledge, which has since become the north-western boundary of the British empire in India, by an agreement entered into with Runjeet Sing, chief of Lahore. This measure had before been contemplated by Lord Lake, as very desirable to the security of our territories; but the proposition not being agreeable to the neutralizing policy then adopted, both in England and the east, was at that time rejected. Under the administration of Lord Minto, however, in 1809, it was revived, and carried into full effect, much to the satisfaction of the Seik inhabitants on the southern side of the river, who were too sensible of the advantages arising from an equitable government not to rejoice in being placed under British protection. By this settlement, Ludheana has obtained the distinction of being the most advanced military station belonging to the English on the Indian continent; and its importance may be estimated from the consideration that the position effectually guards, with comparatively a small garrison, the only assailable quarter in the north, from whence Hindoostan has hitherto been invaded and conquered. To the eastward of this post lies the great sandy desert, extending as far as the Indus, and the awful appearance of which so appalled the troops of Alexander, that they refused to proceed any farther through a country replete with such formidable dangers. On the east a rocky barrier presents itself equally terrific, in the vast

mountains of Sewalik and Tibet, while to the north the Sutledge, guarded as it now is by British troops, defends the passage into Hindoostan from Persia and Tartary.

This river, according to the information collected by Mr. Moorcroft in his tour through the Himalaya mountains, has its origin in a lake called Rawan-hrad, very near the celebrated Mansaroar lake, which has been erroneously considered as the source of the Ganges. The Sutledge, after pursuing a westerly course, and receiving various tributary rivulets, forces a passage through the snowy mountains, near Kantal, on the eastern side of Cashmere, and then deviating more to the south, unites with the Hyphasis not far from Alexander's Altars, thereby forming the largest as well as the most distant on the east of the five rivers, which give name to the fertile district watered by them; and after mingling their friendly streams with the Sinde, whose source is in the same snowy chain, but from whence it flows to the north-west of Cashmere, the whole conflux assumes the appellation of the Indus.

Thus the majestic rivers that fertilize and enrich the eastern and western extremities of India spring alike from the glaciers of Himalaya, or place of snow. The Jumna, which unites with the Ganges at Allahabad, has its rise in the snows of Jamautri, the height of whose peak is twenty-five thousand five hundred feet. The Baghirathi, one of the primitive branches of the Ganges, owes its origin to the snowy beds of Gangoutri; and Lieutenant Webb, who, in 1808, traced the stream till it was lost beneath the frozen masses of this elevated region, beyond which the foot of man has never trod, found the breadth from fifteen to twenty yards, the depth fordable, and the

current moderate; whence it may naturally be inferred that the source cannot be far remote. Two miles lower down the stream is a large rock, or stone, called by the Hindoos Gau Muchi, or the Cow's Mouth, for its supposed resemblance to the head and body of that animal.

This branch and the Alacanando unite at Devapray, near which the breadth of each is from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty feet, and in the rainy season from forty to fifty in depth: but after the junction, the ordinary width of the river for some distance is two hundred and forty feet. On the scarp of the mountain, at the place where the two streams are blended in one, is a town, consisting of about two hundred houses, inhabited wholly by Brahmins, who have a temple here dedicated to Ramachandra, within which is a brazen image in the form of a man, with an immense pair of wings stretched out, and having the beak of an eagle for the nose. This idol, the Indra of the Hindoos, from whose head, according to their mythology, the Ganges is fabled to have sprung, corresponds exactly to the Lui Shin of the Chinese, which is the same with the Jupiter Tonans of the Greeks, and like them personates the spirit presiding over storm and tempest.

The Alacanando, or Vishnugunga, has been traced by Captain Raper a little way beyond Badrinath, at the foot of the same chain of mountains, where the stream, which is shallow, and moderate in its course, is reduced in breadth to eighteen or twenty feet. A little farther on there is a water-fall, called by the natives Barsa Dharu; and here all vestige of the current terminates amidst the immense masses of snow, which present an impassable barrier to human curiosity. But as the apparent source of this stream is full twenty miles south of the

Himalaya base, we ought, perhaps, in strict geographical accuracy, to consider the Dauli rivulet, which runs from the very foot of that ridge, as entitled to the distinction of being a primary branch of the Ganges; since one of its tributary streams actually issues from a pass leading through these mountains.

Though the direct distance, from the commencement of the Dauli to the summit of the Niti Ghati pass, is no more than fifty English miles, according to Mr. Moorcroft, such are the difficulties of access, that it took him ten days to reach the town of Niti, a place held in Jaghire by the grand Lama from the Emperor of China, and eight more to gain the table land of Tartary.

The spring head of the numerous ramifications of this river is in the centre of the Himalaya chain; and after forming a junction with the Vishnuganga and Saraswatiganga, whose united streams form the Alacananda, the several branches of the Ganges force their way through the rocky eminences which fence in the base of that immense range, and blending with each other as they roll along, the entire confluence enters the plains of Hindoostan at Hurdwar, which, in its primary signification, denotes the passage of Vishnu.

The Dewa, or Gogra, which, after traversing Oude, falls into the Ganges near Chupra, has its rise in a small lake near that of Mansaroar, among the mountains surrounding which the Burrampooter, or Brahmapooter, also evidently has its source. From these facts, which recent observations have established, it may be safely concluded that this lofty table land, particularly the ridge which parts the two lakes of Rawen-hrad and the Mansaroar, forms the highest level of the stony plain in the direction of east and west.

From this digression, which it is hoped will find an excuse in the importance of the subject, it is now time to return to our army at Ludheana. The temperature of the climate here, though in the latitude of thirty degrees fifty-three minutes north, alternates to the very opposite extremes at different periods of the year. During four or five months, the weather is intensely cold, and in the summer season the heat is intolerable, being aggravated by the violent winds which blow from the desert, and bring with them immense clouds of burning sand. Much inconvenience is also occasionally experienced here from the rains, which fall in great abundance, and with considerable violence.

On the nineteenth of January our army continued its march by Sanaval, Laskary-Khan-Serai, and Bouglah, through a well cultivated country, to Sirhind, distant one hundred and fifty-five miles N. W. from Delhi. This city was formerly the capital of the province which still bears its name, but the place has gone rapidly to decay since the chief has fixed his residence at Pattealah. According to Abul Fazel, who wrote his geography of India in 1582, Sirhind was then in a most flourishing state, containing splendid buildings and delightful gardens; but in 1707 the Seik chief, Bairaggee Bandar, ravaged the city, and levelled all the public structures to the ground, so that it now exhibits hardly any thing but a melancholy mass of extensive ruins. The immediate neighbourhood abounds with mango groves, and tanks of excellent water; though the latter is scarce, and the country barren, in that part of the province which lies on the side of Hausi, Hissar, and Carnawl, where scarcely any other vegetation is to be seen than underwood. To remedy this evil, Feroze the third, in the

year 1357, cut canals from the Jumna and Sutledge, by which means of irrigation the soil was fertilized: but these useful works falling into decay through neglect, the natural aridity has returned. As this was formerly the great route which the Persians and Tartars took for the invasion of Hindoostan, that circumstance will account in some measure for the decline of a town so much exposed to those merciless depredators. Having halted here four days, the army renewed its course on the twenty-seventh, by Pindarsi and Buttowleah, two insignificant places, marching along bad roads, and through jungles of Dhaka and grass to Umballa, which it reached on the twenty-ninth. This is a fine town, situated south of a branch of the Caggar river, which falls into the Sursooty near Mouneck. Formerly there were two good bridges at this place, but they are now fallen down, and the water near them was at this time very deep; but where we crossed, about midway between the two, it was no higher than the knee. On the thirtieth we came to Lunida-Lundee, a walled town, in a well cultivated country, the chief productions of which are rice and sugar-canes. Game, hereabouts, is very plentiful, particularly wild hogs, one of which was killed within our lines. On the thirty-first we passed the large town of Shahabad, formerly, as its name imports, a royal residence; and after resting during the night near Kutlary, a small but walled village, the next day we reached Tannassar, where we re-entered our first route.

Tannassar, with the exception of Patteelah, is the largest town in this district, and is held in great veneration among the Hindoos, who resort to it as a place of peculiar sanctity, for the purpose of performing their ablutions in the holy river Saraswaty, or Sursooty.

The extensive grass and jungles of Dhaka, which abound in this

neighbourhood, afford great varieties of game; and Lord Lake, with a party of officers, during our stay, killed a tigress and two cubs close to our lines. Having rested one day at this place, we continued our route on the third of February to Azimabad, a large walled town, where we arrived after a tedious march of sixteen miles, mostly through jungle, and over a very heavy road.

This day came on a tremendous storm of rain, which lasted about an hour and a-half, and rendered the ground so very slippery, that many of the camels fell down with their loads and split open, which rendered it necessary to shoot the poor animals, in order to put them out of their misery.

On our encamping at Azimabad, the chieftain, Harnaut, who commanded Holkar's brigades at the battle of Deeg, arrived from the upper country, in his way to the Deccan, accompanied by two or three thousand horse, and four guns.

As it continued to rain very violently several days, our progress was retarded till the tenth, when we marched to the south side of Carnawl. Leaving two battalions of sepoys, with Captain Skinner's horse, at this place, under the orders of Brigadier-General Burn, the commander-in-chief proceeded, with the remainder of the army, in the route already traced, towards Delhi, and arrived there on the fifteenth, after marching almost the whole way through a country overrun with jungle.

Here we remained about two months, watching the motions of Holkar; who, notwithstanding the express terms of the treaty, which laid him under the obligation of hastening back to his own territories, proceeded very tardily, and evidently with great reluctance. So dilatory, indeed, was this chief in his movements, that our army more than once expected to be under the necessity of resuming offensive

operations, in order to enforce his fulfilment of the engagements into which he had entered.

After continuing some time near the hills north of Delhi, Lord Lake, who had much business to transact with the imperial court, and with some of the native princes, removed the camp to its old ground, along the banks of the Jumna, on the south side of the city.

During our stay here, several fêtes were given by way of relief, after the fatigues which the army had endured, with a grateful sense of the benefits resulting from its extraordinary exertions for the restoration and security of peace. Among these festive entertainments, that given by the Begum Somroo was remarkable for its splendour, and the social manner in which it was conducted. This celebrated lady, though somewhat advanced in life, took great delight in the manœuvres of the British camp, and remained with her people close to our head-quarters all the time of our stay near the imperial capital.

Lord Lake having at length completed all the necessary arrangements for the distribution of the army, the reduction of the irregular troops, and the settlement of the conquests which had been achieved, returned to Cawnpore, from whence he proceeded to Calcutta, where, in February, 1807, he embarked for England, followed by the prayers of the people of India, as well natives as Europeans, who esteemed him for his personal virtues no less than they admired him for his unshaken firmness in war, the vigour of his operations, the judgment displayed in his plans, and the liberality of his conduct in the hour of victory.

The public sense of his transcendent merits fully appeared in the numerous testimonials which flowed in on the eve of his departure, when there could be no inducement to flatter one, who, however exalted he might be, was never likely to return, and whose interest

was far from being weighty enough to reward those who joined in his praise. These offerings, therefore, were the genuine effusion of esteem and gratitude, the language of the heart, and the simultaneous feeling of persons who were sensible of the benefit which they derived, in common with all India, from the exertions of a commander, who, at a period of life when nature seeks repose, sacrificed personal ease to brave the hardships peculiar to eastern warfare, and that under circumstances of no ordinary danger and responsibility.

Upon the maxim of the illustrious Roman commander, that *cum imperatoris non minus sit prudentia superare quam gladio*, he added to the value of the conquests which his sword had gained by the prudence of his councils for their security and improvement.

Thus, after displaying the qualities essential to the character of a master in the art of war, during the great American contest, next in the early campaigns against revolutionary France, particularly at Lincelles and the wood of Alkmaar, and on the still more trying occasion of the rebellion in Ireland, did this noble veteran compleat his wreath of military glory, by rounding the British empire in the east within a circumference, the magnitude of which is only commensurate to the security of the interjacent country from foreign enemies and domestic depredators.

During the period of Lord Lake's command in India the strictest discipline was observed; but at the same time the comforts of the soldier were ever carefully consulted; justice was equally administered, to all without partiality, but tempered in every instance with as much lenity as the nature of the case and the good of the service would admit. Nothing was exacted either of men or officers beyond the indispensable necessity of the occasion, and in the most arduous exi-

gencies the whole army obeyed with the greater cheerfulness, because they saw the readiness of their beloved commander to share with them the toil and the danger. While the unfortunate private experienced in his kindness consolation and relief, that lessened their pain, and calmed their agony, the meritorious officer of every rank was certain of finding his services noticed, and his exertions encouraged. Hence the army under such a leader had all the appearance of a well regulated and harmonious family, the various members of which looked up to their head not only as to a general whose orders were to be obeyed, but as to a friend whom they loved, and a parent whom they revered. In private life, his pleasing manners, and condescending deportment, the cheerfulness of his conversation, and his willingness to oblige, endeared him to the more intimate circle of his acquaintance, and secured the respect of all who had any opportunity of observing his amiable character, and the influence of his virtues upon the society in which he moved. Thus distinguished by the personal esteem of his sovereign, and every branch of his august family, honoured by the nation, and adored by the army, did the general retire into the bosom of his family, followed by the sincerest wishes for the continuance of many years in the enjoyment of health and happiness. But it pleased the great disposer of all events to order otherwise: and on the twenty-first of February, 1808, this truly great and good man expired, after a short illness, in the sixty-fourth year of his age; and just six months previous to the death of his affectionate son, and gallant companion in arms, Colonel George Lake, who fell in Portugal, nobly fighting for the liberties of Europe. Thus, as they were united in their lives, so in death were they scarcely divided.

Route of the British Army from Cawnpore to the Banks of the Hyphasis.

Measured by Perambulator in British Miles and Furlongs.

CAWNPORE							M.	F.	M.	F.
Mundeena							12	.	..	.
Serajepore							10	.	22	.
Bellore							12	.	34	.
Meergunge							12	.	46	.
Patiary							11	.	57	.
Cossiahgunge							9	.	66	.
Secunderpore							10	.	76	.
Nubbegunge							13	.	89	.
Bhelgong							13	.	102	.
Mainpore							10	.	112	.
Girout							11	.	123	.
Sheeoabad							12	.	135	.
Ferozabad							12	.	147	.
Etamaundpore							13	.	160	.
AGRA							12	.	172	.
Secundra					5	.	..	.	177	.
Gowghaut					9	.	14	.	186	.
Jundipore					10	.	24	.	196	.
MUTRA					13	.	37	.	209	.
Akbarpore			12	.	..	.	49	.	221	.
Chattah			6	5	18	5	55	5	227	5
Khoosee			6	5	25	2	62	2	234	2
Hooral			8	4	33	6	70	6	242	6
Metroul			8	4	42	2	79	2	251	2
Pullwall			10	4	52	6	89	6	261	6
Sicree			10	4	63	2	100	2	272	2
Fareedabad			10	.	73	2	110	2	282	2
Barah Poolah			11	.	84	2	121	2	293	2
DELHI			3	6	88	.	125	.	297	.
Tarpoliah	5	6	..	.	93	6	130	6	302	6
Allipore	7	4	13	2	101	2	138	2	310	2
Beronteka Sarai	9	5	22	7	110	7	147	7	316	7
Sooniput	7	4	30	3	118	3	155	3	327	3
Ponchee	10	4	40	7	128	7	165	7	337	7
Potinah	10	6	51	5	139	5	176	5	348	5
Panniput	8	1	59	6	147	6	184	6	356	6
Chowrah	10	6	70	4	158	4	195	4	367	4
Carnawl	11	1	81	5	169	5	206	5	378	5
Samanah	16	.	97	5	185	5	222	5	394	5
Murtezapore	19	4	117	1	205	1	242	1	414	1
Bhagul	16	3	133	4	221	4	258	4	430	4
Pattealah	20	4	154	.	242	.	279	.	451	.
Nabeh	16	3	170	3	258	3	295	3	467	.
Umirghur	11	.	181	3	269	3	306	3	478	3
Rawseeanah	14	.	195	3	283	3	320	3	492	3
Khanpore	11	6	207	1	295	1	332	1	504	1
Ludheauna	9	3	216	4	304	4	341	4	513	4
Keranagaut	7	.	223	4	311	4	348	4	520	4
Jumshire	23	.	246	4	334	4	371	4	543	4
Pullet	25	.	271	4	359	4	396	4	568	4
Raipoor Gaut, Hyphasis River	9	.	280	4	365	4	405	4	577	4

Return Route by Sirhind.

Raipoorgaut.	M.	F.
Gogerwalgaut	16	.
Burraar	16	2
Raipoor	17	.
Phugwara	9	6
Keranagaut	12	.
Ludheauna	5	.
Sanawal	12	.
Laskarikhan-Serai	11	.
Bauglah	11	6
Sirhind	10	.
Pindassi	7	4
Buttowlrah	11	6
Umballa	13	4
Lundalundee	10	.
Kutlary	12	2
Tanuvasar	8	.

CONCLUSION.

It is presumed that the memoir, now brought to a close, has rendered all reasoning upon the importance of our eastern possessions unnecessary, as the incidents here narrated must satisfy every dispassionate mind, that our commercial interests vitally depend upon the stability of our power. Should England once relinquish any part of that footing which she has acquired at so much expense of blood and treasure, a principal channel of her immense resources will be dried up; which would inevitably be followed by the withering of her naval and military strength.

It therefore becomes an object of serious enquiry by what means our dominions in that part of the globe are to be secured; and, by consequence, how our influence there may be most effectually improved for the advantage of the nation, and the benefit of the states under its protection.

Experience shews that the decline of the Mohammedan empire has occasioned ceaseless confusion and usurpation throughout Hindoostan, to the deterioration of that fine country, and the incalculable injury of its inhabitants.

The sufferings of India, upon which so much declamation has been wasted, have had their origin in causes very different from the alleged ambition of the British government. To the want of a strong internal power, capable of keeping under the refractory, and of fostering the weak, are alone to be ascribed the disorders that have so long pre-

vailed in that extensive region; and it is a fact proved by recent events, that in proportion as the British authority has advanced, the condition of the natives has been ameliorated to such a degree as to command their gratitude. It is true, that what has been gained by the sword, must be maintained by the sword; but not in the sense to which ignorance or party zeal would pervert the maxim, as though it were intended for a cloak to oppression. The possession of the sword, and the active employment of it, will ever be necessary while restless tribes shall exist in great numbers in the heart of India, despising the arts of peace, disregarding the principles of equity, and subsisting solely by depredation. So long as these marauders are in force sufficiently strong to enable them to make head against peaceable states, and to brave even the power by whom they are sheltered, so long will it be the duty, as well as the interest of the latter, to use every effort for the reformation or subjection of a people who acknowledge no rule but their appetite. A neutralizing policy in this case would not only be disgraceful, but ruinous, by laying open our most valuable territories to the incursions of troublesome enemies, and by discouraging those pacific powers who might be desirous of our friendship. The opposite course to this was that which presented itself to the comprehensive mind of the Marquis Wellesley, as the only one that could be adopted for the security of the British dominions in India, and the benefit of the native powers through every part of that extensive continent. This enlightened statesman saw that the defeat of a particular chief, or even the dissolution of a formidable confederacy, would be of little avail, so long as the country should still remain exposed to the ravages of a people, whose habitual thirst for plunder

is neither to be diverted by the call of humanity, nor checked by the obligation of treaties. The British government, however, during his lordship's administration, did not obtrusively seek an occasion of quarrel with the Mahrattas, but endeavoured, amidst numerous provocations, to convince the heads of those turbulent and crafty tribes that their interest lay in preserving faithfully the relations of peace with all their neighbours. But when the sword could no longer remain unsheathed, except to the manifest injury and probable destruction of our eastern dominion, the superior energy of his lordship's mind appeared in the digest of a plan of warfare, which, in a short space of time, shook, with the rapid effect of a thunderbolt, the Mahratta power to its very foundation. Had the same great genius been permitted to carry the bold conceptions, so admirably formed, to the fullest extent of practical utility, in the settlement of that peace which these vigorous measures secured, we should not have heard of the ravages that have recently been committed within our own territories, as well as those of our allies.

At the conclusion of the war, it was necessary to have followed up the plan on which it had been conducted, as far as related to the restriction of the Mahrattas; for though their states were circumscribed, their regular armies destroyed, and their French auxiliaries rooted out of the country, the numerical strength of these people had, in reality, suffered comparatively but little diminution, and their ferocious character remained unsubdued. Thirty millions of freebooters, in the very heart of India, occupying some of its finest districts, which are rendered unproductive by the restless disposition of the inhabitants, cannot be considered otherwise than as a general oppro-

brium. The contempt in which these people hold the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, even for their own subsistence, and that on a soil capable of yielding a surplusage for the accommodation of others, after the supply of their own extensive population, is not one of the least of the evils which result from their predatory habits. Hereby the gifts of nature are abandoned for the most nefarious purposes; and those occupations, which, properly followed, would prove of universal benefit, are neglected, that the people may live by plundering the inoffensive and industrious, who are obliged to quit their habitations, and to leave their lands uncultivated. Where such a state of things, therefore, is suffered to exist, it can be no matter of surprise that the horrors of famine should be even more frequent and horrible than the miseries of war. Yet this is the undeniable feature of the Mahratta character, which not only renders it a curse to all that come within its blighting influence, but a sore scourge to the remotest parts of India. It might well have been hoped that the humiliations inflicted on these people during the war would have reduced them to a more orderly course of life. This, however, was not the case; and their disposition for spoliation remains still in the same degree of restless malignity, confirming the justness of that policy which distinguished the administration of Lord Wellesley, and the necessity of continuing which was strongly urged upon his successors, but urged in vain by Lord Lake.

The necessity of binding the Mahrattas down to the observance of good faith and behaviour, after having gained such signal advantages over them, was no less obvious than that of taking away the means of destruction from the malevolent disturbers of society. The opportunity of effecting this was thrown into the hands of the British

government by the events of the war, conducted with so much splendour by Lord Lake and Major-General Wellesley, whose victories only required this application of them to have constituted the foundation of a permanent system of civilization and tranquillity throughout India.

How expedient it was to have accomplished this great object, no less beneficial to the Mahrattas than desirable to their neighbours, appears from the ascendency gained by Meer Khan, a man of the lowest origin, who distinguished himself as the partizan of Holkar; and, since the war, has spread terror over the countries to the north and west of the Chumbul, and particularly among the petty Rajpoot states, upon whom he has levied heavy contributions for the maintenance of his numerous adherents. Thus the mischievous habits of these people, instead of being checked, are perpetuated and increased, by their roving turn, and peculiar mode of warfare. At the least signal of invitation, they assemble in great numbers on horseback, cut down a field of corn as the emblem of their convocation, and then rush forth to the work of destruction, overrunning and laying waste whole regions with the celerity and merciless cruelty of an army of locusts; so that, though the countries before them may resemble the garden of Eden, they are soon converted into a dreary wilderness.

Out of this disordered state, a description of people has risen into notice since the war, and occasioned no small trouble to the British government in India. These are the Pindarrees, a numerous horde of Mahrattas, who have been free-booters from generation to generation, more lawless, if possible, than their brethren, being continually engaged in plunder, without levying war, or respecting the

rights of peace. These desperadoes have ever been countenanced by the Mahratta states, from whom their chieftains hold lands by a kind of military tenure, contributing part of the spoils which they procure to those who afford them protection. But as the fabric of the Mahratta dominion has been loosened by internal divisions, the Pindarrees have become more formidable and daring, increasing in numbers, and less disposed to acknowledge any authority. They have for several years been a great plague to the territories of the Nizam, laying waste the fields, destroying the villages, and committing every kind of cruelty on the defenceless inhabitants. Since the last Mahratta war, their numbers have been greatly augmented by disbanded soldiers, who, after serving Scindiah, Holkar, and others, and being left destitute of pay and employment, have been compelled to seek subsistence in robbery as the only means congenial to their habits, which revolt at labour and a peaceful settlement. With this access of strength, the Pindarrees have acquired so much boldness, that, for the last two or three years they have ventured to disturb the Company's possessions, especially in the northern circars, and the districts south of the Kistnah, issuing in bodies of three or four thousand each, from various quarters; and by thus acting on different points, they baffle all attempts made to check their progress, or to prevent their depredations. In consequence of their frequent irruptions, it has been found necessary to keep numerous detachments of our army constantly in the field, or at least during the most unhealthy periods of the year, but to little other purpose than that of affording temporary protection to the inhabitants; for no sooner are our forces withdrawn than the robbers return. They begin to cross the Nerbudda and the Taptee towards

September, when the rains have ceased, and these rivers are become fordable; then scattering in various directions, and moving with the greatest rapidity, they perpetrate incalculable injury in spite of the regular troops, who, from the necessary slowness of their movements, are seldom able to come up with them. Thus the marauders hover about and pursue their predatory course for several months, until the rains return, when they retrace their steps homewards, to share their spoils, and prepare for fresh incursions. Contemptible as they may seem in a military point of view, they are far more pernicious to the country, and infinitely more difficult of suppression, than a regular force, being a kind of invisible and intangible enemy, better known by the impression they leave than by their actual presence. Fighting is neither their object nor inclination; nor indeed are they properly qualified for it. Their single aim is plunder; and their glory consists in effecting an inroad by surprise, and making a secure retreat. But the immediate destruction that marks their route is far from being the greatest evil which results from their visitation; for the people of the countries which they overrun become dispirited; and losing their confidence in our protection, desert their farms and habitations; whence the defalcation of rents unavoidably ensues, to the detriment of the revenue, and the ruin of individuals.

However light such a state of things may appear to those who are little acquainted with the internal state of India, it will have a different effect when considered in relation to the general system of the Mahrattas, who are now laying aside their European tactics for that mode of warfare which has always rendered them troublesome neighbours.

What the Pindarrees, therefore, commit on a small scale, it is natural to infer will be performed on one of greater magnitude at no distant period, unless some means shall be resorted to for the correction of this abuse, by making the chiefs of the Mahrattas not only answerable for the conduct of their subjects, but for the outrageous acts of robbers who are sheltered in their dominions.

Nothing can be more idle than to exclaim against all interference with the native powers of India; since the principles of sound policy and justice absolutely require such an interposition, not merely for the security of our own possessions, but for the defence of the people whom we have taken under our protection, and over whom we have established a government incompatible with such neighbours as the Mahrattas. In these provinces we have disarmed the natives, levelled the fortresses, and even dismantled the towns and villages; of course it becomes an imperative duty that we should provide effectually for the safety of those whom we have rendered incapable of defending themselves. It is not enough to expel hordes of banditti when they occasionally make their appearance, and whose return in accumulated numbers the inhabitants have reason to dread. The source of the evil must be rooted out, or the peace of the country never can be secured. This can only be done by carrying the rule of responsibility into every part of the Mahratta states, and visiting those with the severity of justice who have either committed outrages by their own authority, or afforded countenance to those perpetrated by others. The force of opinion, which formerly had a magical influence in that region, has been for some time gradually losing its power, and will, at no distant period, totally vanish. Our future trust, therefore, must

be in a strong military arm, extended over countries little known, and among a people whom it will require many years to bring into that state of order which becomes more necessary in proportion to the increase of our territories, and the multiplication of our connexions.

As we are bound by every principle of policy and humanity to secure the hold which we have acquired for the benefit of the subjects and allies whom providence has placed under our protection, it is evident that this obligation cannot be fulfilled towards them or ourselves without maintaining a permanent force far exceeding our present establishment. How the augmentation may be best effected is a different question, but it is one that deserves close and serious investigation, which can alone be conducted by those who have had long experience in the east, and are well acquainted with the peculiarities of an Indian army, and the varieties incidental to the service in which it may be employed. It cannot be denied that the force already embodied is a machine of immense power and complexity, the direction of which requires the profoundest judgment, not only for the purposes to which it is appropriated, but for the prevention of those sudden convulsions to which all armed bodies of great magnitude are liable, especially in countries far remote from the controlling authorities. All history, ancient and modern, abounds in evidence of the dangers arising from such a source; and in no country have these been more frequent, or attended with more dreadful effects, than in India. Its whole history is little better than a series of military revolutions: and though commotions of this kind have been of rare occurrence, since the ascendency of the British power, yet symptoms of insurrection have occasionally

betrayed themselves, even under our government, sufficiently indicative of the dangers that would ensue, were the train once laid to such combustible materials. A great portion of our Indian army consists of natives; and it is only to the disciplined state in which they are kept, the attention paid to their customs, and the punctuality observed in regard to their pay, that the tranquillity of our eastern possessions, occupied by such a description of force, can be ascribed. These troops have been justly extolled for their exemplary fidelity, fortitude, and bravery; but at the same time, without detracting from their general merit, it must be admitted that of late years the enthusiastic reverence with which the sepoys were wont to look up to their superiors no longer forms the prominent feature of their character. This change, so pregnant with unknown evils, may be traced in a great degree to the degrading circumstance of removing the European officers from their native regiments some time since; an act of humiliation, which, however trivial it may seem in England, is of serious import in the east, where subordination depends upon personal attachment. So long as it shall be expedient to maintain such a number of natives in arms, so long will it be necessary to regulate this military system according to the national character of the people employed, even though in so doing we may be compelled to deviate from the stricter rules observed in the western world. But there is too much reason to fear that our influence has been shaken in this important respect, of which the massacre at Vellore, the more recent conspiracies in Travancore and Java, are alarming instances, and ought to be considered as so many warnings for the regulation of our future course. Whatever might have been the actual causes of those

transactions, certain it is that irregularity of payment on the part of government, or acts of oppression on that of their officers, were not of the number; neither is it true that the refractory soldiers were irritated by attempts made to alienate them from their religious tenets.

As the ordinary springs of mutinous proceedings among troops were wanting in these occurrences, the aspect of them became more serious, by shewing the feebleness of that tenure on which our authority in this distant region continues to be upheld. That the mutiny in Vellore originated with the sons of the late Tippoo Sultaun, is past all doubt; and that the conspiracy at Travancore was instigated by the principal persons there, is equally certain; it would, therefore, be blind policy, to say the least of it, that should treat the recurrence of such evils as an improbable event, against which there can be no need to adopt precautionary measures. The best way to prevent danger is to avoid timid suspicion on the one hand, and implicit confidence on the other. In the present case, considering the importance of the stake which we hold, it is advisable to impress the public mind throughout India with a conviction that the maintenance of our power there does not depend upon the employment of native troops; while at the same time it is no less requisite that we should, by every degree of attention and conciliation, ingratiate their esteem, and secure their fidelity. The fermentations that have already occurred, however trivial they may be deemed, are plainly indicative of elements which only require powerful agency to produce a vast extent of mischief; and that the instruments of combustion will not be wanting, there is reason enough to apprehend, considering the numbers of subsidiary troops which are spread over every part of the country by virtue of the

treaties contracted between our government and the native princes, in whose courts there already exists a disposition to use either art or violence for the subversion of our power.

Of the various means, which, under such circumstances, may be necessary to secure the footing we have gained, it deserves attentive consideration whether a more enlarged military system, consisting chiefly of European forces commensurate to the magnitude of our possessions, is not imperatively demanded. Twice the number of troops that are now employed would be far from exceeding the limit of moderation; and of these a preponderating superiority of cavalry seems obviously called for, to keep in check the flying hordes of Mahratta horse, whose rapid movements must ever baffle the utmost exertions of any infantry.

But in thus suggesting the policy of augmenting a force, the importance of which has been decidedly proved on the most trying occasions, when the fate of British India hung suspended, as it were, by a slender thread, it is not meant that any marked preference should be given to one department over another. On the contrary, a liberal policy requires that every invidious distinction in the appropriation of rewards and employments should be removed; that the officers in the King's service and those of the Company should have no cause whatever for discontent or jealousy; but that as members of the same family, they should feel a reciprocal affection and generous emulation. Union alone can preserve a state, which, in regard to numerical strength, compared to the population over which it rules, is no more than as a drop in the waters of the ocean. It is, therefore, of vital moment to our political existence in India that the

several branches of military service, by whatever authority appointed, or however denominated, should be actuated by one common stimulus, and be fully entitled to the same advantages. Professional honours are the objects of the soldier's loftiest ambition; but if he is debarred of them by local restrictions, the prime motive to exertion is taken away, and his zeal for the cause in which he is employed becomes cool, when he finds that neither labour nor talent will procure him those benefits and distinctions to which he has a fair pretension, but which he sees exclusively appropriated to one description of his brethren in arms.

That a system savouring so strongly of undue preference should excite uneasiness in those who feel themselves aggrieved by it, is in the ordinary course of things; for human nature must pass through a complete revolution, ere men of acute feelings can become indifferent under prohibitions which leave them nothing to sweeten the remembrance of a long and toilsome service, but the consciousness of having faithfully discharged their duty amidst the painfulness of neglect, and the prospect of penury.

Though a vast accession of territory has been acquired by our arms, multiplied dangers continue to press upon it on every side; and enemies, subtle, active, and inveterate, are intermingled with our possessions in all directions. It is, therefore, obvious, that, in such a state of things nothing short of a vigorous administration, conducted on the broad principles of equal justice, respecting alike the rights of natives and Europeans, can possibly preserve the complex and extensive empire which we have founded.

Happily, however, there is at present less room for despondency than confidence, in the reflection that the enlightened nobleman who

is at the head of our Indian government has ever been distinguished by the liberality of his sentiments, the superiority of his talents and the enlarged views taken by him of the affairs of that country when its internal state was little known and grossly misrepresented in Europe. It would be little to say that the administration of the noble marquis has confirmed the high opinion previously entertained of the independence of his mind, and the perspicuity of his judgment; or even that he has contributed much towards the permanent security of our eastern dominions. On one side, an additional barrier to Hindoostan has been provided by the prosecution of the war in Nepaul, the successful termination of which has not only removed all apprehensions of danger from that quarter, but opened prospects favourable to the interests of commerce; while in the opposite direction the subsidiary treaty, entered into with the Rajah of Berar, and the consequent stationing of British troops at Nagpore, will prove an effectual check against the encroachments of the Mahrattas.

By pursuing this course, the British government will secure a permanent foundation, and become the instrument of spreading the blessings of science and religion among myriads of human beings, who are now strangers to civilized life, regardless of the bonds of social duty, and slaves to superstitious usages, that degrade the Lord of the Universe into an inexorable tyrant enshrined in darkness.

When the various tribes of India shall see that the effect of our conquests is neither exaction, proscription, nor persecution, but security of property, gentleness to persons, and the fullest toleration of religious customs, their minds will become susceptible to the impressions of kindness, their habits will be inured to useful arts

and occupations which will abate the thirst for war, and prepare their minds for the gradual reception of Christianity. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished by every person who feels a concern for the removal of evils, which, by impeding the progress of truth, render countless multitudes of human beings strangers to the means of moral improvement. But disposed as the enlightened philanthropist is to co-operate in all judicious measures for the diffusion of knowledge and the alleviation of suffering, he is aware of the necessity of guiding his liberality with discretion, lest by imprudent management he should aggravate those miseries which he is forward to remove, and induce ills of greater magnitude than those which he has been prompted to correct.

In no part of the world is the virtue of PRUDENCE more necessary for the direction of government than in India, where the people are naturally tender upon all points connected with their customs and religion. Though inoffensive in his manners, the mild and timid Hindoo would acquire a ferocity foreign to his disposition, were he to entertain an idea that the British nation formed hostile designs against the tenets which he venerates as sacred, and the usages to which he is attached on account of their antiquity.

It therefore behoves the supreme authorities in England and the east to preserve the public mind throughout the British possessions in a state of perfect tranquillity, by discountenancing all attempts to introduce innovations among the natives, and by convincing them that their faith is as secure from the interference of foreign sects, as their persons and property are from oppression.

THE END.

R. Clarke, Printer, Well Street, London.

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